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FRANCIS OF ASSISI AND ISLAM
(1182 ?—1226)

Sixteen years before Raymund Lull was born at Palma, Majorca, in 1219, St. Francis of Assisi with mad courage went into the Sultan's presence at Damietta and proclaimed the way of salvation; even offering to undergo the ordeal of fire to vindicate his message. So goes the story.

But the extraordinary versatility, the glorious career and the voluminous writings of Lull, the missionary apostle and martyr, have in most minds eclipsed the efforts of his predecessors. The more one studies the life and writings of Lull, the more one is ready to agree with the verdict of Dr. Eugene Stock and Robert E. Speer that he was the first and perhaps the greatest missionary to Muhammadans.[1] "It sets forth the greatness of Lull's character the more strikingly to see how sharply he rose above the world and the church of his day anticipating by many centuries moral standards, intellectual conceptions and missionary ambitions to which we have grown only slowly since the Reformation. . . . It would be easy to draw parallels between Paul and Lull: their conversions, their subsequent times of separation, their visions, their untiring toil, their passion for Christ, their sufferings and shipwrecks, their intellectual activity and power, their martyrdoms, the rule of Christ supreme in death, supreme also in life, its thought, its purpose, its taste, its use, its friends, its sacrifice."[2] One might use these extraordinarily striking parallels also in the case of Francis of Assisi, forming a colorful triptych of missionary saints; each of them bearing the stigmata of the Lord

[1] Eugene Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society,* Vol. I, p. 13. Robert E. Speer, Introduction to Zwemer's *Raymund Lull.*

[2] Speer, *idem,* p. xvi.

Jesus.[3] St. Paul, St. Francis and Raymund Lull. What inspiration these three offer the missionary among Muslims today!

The life of St. Francis is better known in Christendom than that of Raymund Lull who, because of Dominican opposition, was never canonized by the Roman Catholic Church. He was, however, one might say, rediscovered at the beginning of this century and his life and work brought to new attention.[4]

E. Allison Peer's definitive biography "endeavors to describe the depth and breadth of Lull's life and personality as well as the heights to which Raymund Lull could soar." He compares him to St. Francis and points out the striking similarity in their works both in substance and style. It would be a fascinating study to follow this out, using Dr. Speer's categories from the life of St. Paul.

Our purpose, however, is to recall only one aspect of the life of Francis, namely, his love for Muslims and his mission to Egypt. His birth in a small Italian village, the son of a cloth-merchant; his renunciation of all he had in exchange for poverty and obedience; his visions of the Christ; his ministry to lepers and infidels; his homelessness and love of nature; his joy; his vigils and prayers and passion for martyrdom—all these are known or ought to be known to every Christian. To read the story of this Lover of Christ is to become his admirer evermore.[5] He was truly Saint Francis. A bishop is said to have complained of a Non-conformist saying Paul instead of St. Paul; and to have added, "He might at least have called him Mr. Paul!"

Whether we study his life by Renan and by Matthew Arnold ("who were content to sing his praises until stopped by their prejudices") or read the critical work of

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[3] Gal. 6:17. Sabatier's *St. Francis of Assisi*, pp. 288-296 and pp. 433-443. He gives abundant evidence for the reality of the Stigmata.

[4] *Le Bienheureux Raymund Lull*—Marius André, Paris, 1900.
Raymund Lull. First Missionary to the Moslems—S. M. Zwemer, New York, 1902. *Raymund Lull: The Illuminated Doctor*—W.T.A. Barber, London, 1903. *Raymund Lull: Alchemist and Christian Mystic*—A. E. Waite, London, 1922. *Raymon Lull, a Biography*—E. Allison Peers, London, 1929.

[5] *Life of St. Francis of Assisi*—Paul Sabatier, New York, 1898.
St. Francis of Assisi—G. K. Chesterton, New York, 1942.

Sabatier and the brilliant sketch by Chesterton, in every case the breadth of his love and devotion is evident in his attitude to Islam.

Between the Inquisition and the Crusades, examples of mediaeval intolerance, St. Francis was the apostle of love. As in Rembrandt's great art, we can only see the glory and beauty of Francis of Assisi against the black background of his age and environment. He is said to have made a journey to interview the Emperor to intercede for the lives of certain little birds! And, with two companions, he started out to convert the Muhammadan world.[6]

The summer of 1219 was the epoch fixed by Pope Honorius III for making a new effort in a crusade on Egypt. So St. Francis thought the moment had come which he had contemplated since 1212 when four Franciscan friars who had penetrated into Morocco with mania for martyrdom won the crowns they sought at the hands of the Muslims. Who would cast the first stone at these wild adventurers? "I greet you, Martyrs of Morocco," writes Sabatier. "You do not regret your madness I am sure. Is not devotion always blind? That a furrow should be fecund it must have blood; it must have tears, as St. Augustine has called the blood of the soul."[7]

In this same spirit St. Francis himself went on an expedition which lasted for more than a year. His, however, was not the blind zeal that courts death but rather he used gentler preaching and more tactful approach to the citadel of Islam. He left Portiuncula in the middle of June for Ancona whence the Crusaders were to sail. Many friars joined him. This was perplexing; so he led his friends away saying, "The people of the boat refuse to take us all; let us learn the will of God." So St. Francis selected a child playing close by and the little one, glad to play the part of Providence, pointed out the eleven friars who were to sail. We do not know the course of the voyage except that they called at Cyprus. At St. Jean d'Acre he dismissed most of his companions on other preaching missions while he went to

[6] G. K. Chesterton, p. 157.
[7] Sabatier, p. 225.

Damietta. Heart-broken over the moral conditions of the Christian army, he advised the Crusaders not to attack the Saracens as they would be defeated. No one heeded him and on August 20th the Crusaders were terribly routed. His prediction won him the favor of the Muslims. He was admitted to the Sultan's presence and there the conversation took place which ended in an appeal to ordeal by fire. Perhaps this part of the story, telling of Francis being willing to pass through fire "if the priests of Mahomet" would do the same, is born of a misunderstanding.[8] Here is a letter of Jacques de Vitry written at the time, giving his impression of Francis: "I announce to you that Master Reynier, Prior of St. Michael, has entered the Order which is multiplying rapidly on all sides, because it imitates the primitive Church and follows the life of the Apostles in everything. The master of these Brothers is named Brother Francis; he is so lovable that he is venerated by everyone. Having come into our army, he has not been afraid, in his zeal for the faith, to go to that of our enemies. For days together he announced the word of God to the Saracens, but with little success; then the sultan, King of Egypt, asked him in secret to entreat God to reveal to him, by some miracle, which is the best religion."[9]

Francis returned to the Sultan's camp after the taking of Damietta on August 29th, where the victors had piled dead bodies in heaps and pestilence had broken out. In these conditions "where the human beast was let loose, the apostle's voice could no more make itself heard in the savage clamor than that of a life-saver over a raging ocean." Nevertheless, St. Francis and his brother friars continued their love for Muslims. They passed on the torch to Raymund Lull with the idea that it is better to create Christians than to destroy Muslims. If Islam had been converted by these ascetic lovers of martyrdom, drunk with passion for Christ, the world would have been immeasurably more united and happy; at least three-quarters of the wars of modern history would never have taken place. And there

[8] *idem.* pp. 228, 229.

[9] Sabatier, pp. 229 and 429. The letter is dated November 1219.

doubtless was some spiritual fruitage in individuals converted. Kenneth Latourette offers considerable evidence that at this time Franciscans won converts in Egypt, Tunis, Morocco and Spain.[10] There is also doubtless truth in the story of the strong impression made upon the Sultan, for St. Francis was allowed to return as freely as he came. The narrator represents this as a secret conversion.[11]

The Little Poor Man of the twelfth century has left his mark upon the Church universal. In his utter devotion, his humility, his vision and his passion he remains an example to those who follow him as friends of the Muslims in their world-wide quest. His comeraderie was a gift of the Spirit. He was a humorist because he was a humanist. "Even among the saints he has the air of a sort of eccentric, if one may use the word of one whose eccentricity consisted in always turning towards the Centre." He devoured fasting as a hungry man food, and plunged after poverty as others dig for gold. His life was hid in Christ.

There is a phrase in the prophecy of Isaiah which expresses debt to predecessors. May we not apply it in these latter days which call for new self-denial, new vows of poverty and obedience in the tremendous unfinished task of evangelizing Muslim lands? *"Thine ears shall hear a word behind thee saying, This is the way, walk ye in it, when ye turn to the right hand and when ye turn to the left"* (Isaiah 30:21).

We believe that St. Paul, St. Francis and Raymund Lull have such a word for us today because they walked the narrow road and found it the King's highway.

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[10] *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, Vol. II, pp. 320-321.
[11] G. K. Chesterton, p. 187.

WHEN TO CHANGE A RELIGION

(An Address to Muslim Students)

Religion must not be lower than the moral consciousness of the age demands. In a sense it is true that we call things good "because they have evoked moral approval in ourselves, or in other persons from whom we have learnt the use of these words (Westermarck, *Christianity and Morals,* p. 15). Among peoples, for example, whose religion appears to have been born of fear, the chief desire is to propitiate the savage gods whose malevolence they seek to avoid. But the moral consciousness of a people who have been emancipated from ignorant fears and superstitions will give approval no longer to such acts of propitiation in the name of religion. For them the only religion that can have moral value will have to be a changed religion.

In this fact missionaries who are engaged in educational and medical work in non-Christian countries can take heart. For the moral consciousness of the age in which we are living is making insistent demands upon the minds and hearts of the young people who attend our schools and colleges and on the crowds of patients who throng our hospitals. We have reason to believe that when they see portrayed in the life of Jesus an attractive and compelling moral ideal, and when they have opportunity to estimate the value of the principles that he taught, suggestions must occur to them about changes that are needed in their own religious attitudes and customs.

But when we speak about changing a religion, are we to consider that religion is something that is fluctuating and unstable in character, that it is like a clock or a radio that needs adjustment? In the sense that religion is a personal consciousness of a man's relation between himself and his God, I think we would have to answer this question in the affirmative. The fact of the possibility of such a relation between man and God is something that we may regard as constant in the Divine order, but the degree to which any

man is conscious of his own relation to God fluctuates and wavers. To this extent a man's religion may be regarded as likely to be unstable and unreliable, and as being subject therefore to necessary adjustment and correction.

Nearly a thousand years ago a Syrian Christian, whose name was Yahyā ibn 'Adī (d. 974 A.D.), wrote a book in Arabic to give an epitome of the Greek ethical thought that was then being made available by Syrian Christian translators. To this book he gave the Arabic name *Tahdhīb al-Ahklāq,* ("The Correction of Dispositions"). Under the influence of this early Christian book, the Muslim theologian and historian, Ibn Maskawaihi (d. 1030 A.D.), wrote what has continued to be the standard Arabic book on Ethics, which he also called *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*. The paper that was published by Sir Saiyid Ahmad (d. 1898), the founder of the Aligarh Muslim University, was an agent for reform and its name was *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq,*—"The Correction of Dispositions."

i. *Correction.* The Arabic word *tahdhīb,* or "Correction," is used to express the idea of cleansing or purifying. When the palm tree was trimmed by clearing it of its fibrous growth, or by cutting off the dried leaves, the process was called *tahdhīb*. So it is that in Muslim Ethics the commendable dispositions require cleansing or trimming, to rid them of excess and extraneous growth that may be harmful. At any rate it has occurred to me that a review of reasons we see for the correction of our dispositions may suggest when a man should deliberately change his religion.

The New Testament shows that Jesus believed that there were changes that needed to be made in the Jewish faith by this process of cleansing or trimming. The exacting and meticulous demands that had grown up in regard to Sabbath observance, the petty tithing of mint and anise and cummin, the ostentatious cleansing of vessels and the punctilious washing of hands, the silly discrimination in taking oaths—whether by the Temple or by the gold of the Temple, the way the religious leaders enlarged the borders of their garments and sought the chief seats in the synagogues, and

the habit they soon acquired of placing heavy burdens on men's shoulders without ever being willing to stretch out a helping hand, all these aspects of Jewish faith and practice, as Jesus saw in his day, required trimming off and cleansing.

Jesus had observed also how resentments that are cherished by individuals against other individuals soon take the joy and confidence out of their religious faith and fellowship. Usually these resentments take the form of unkind and unjust judgments about particular people. In this connection Jesus unhesitatingly advised the use of the pruning-hook: "Judge not that ye be not judged. . . . Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?" (Mt. 7:3).

ii. *Discipline.* The mental experience that comes with the recognition of the need to change our religious or moral opinions has long been recognized as a part of wisdom. This is clearly shown in old Jewish proverbs:

> "He is in the way of life that heedeth correction" (Proverbs 10:17).
> "Whoso loveth correction loveth knowledge" (Proverbs 12:1).
> "He that refuseth correction despiseth his own soul; but he that hearkeneth to reproof getteth understanding" (Proverbs 15:32).
> "The ear that hearkeneth to the reproof of life shall abide among the wise" (Proverbs 15:31).

In each of these instances the Arabic word which is used to mean correction is *ta'dīb*. Anyone who has been disciplined or educated is thought to have received correction, or *ta'dīb*. Especially does this apply to the teaching of the good qualities of the soul. For changes will take place in the religious and ethical demands that a man makes of himself as he undergoes such discipline. His standard keeps advancing in the course of his moral and spiritual progress. Sometimes he finds that his principles themselves are being modified in important ways, but perhaps it is a more frequent experience for him to see how an ethical principle steadily gains wider application. Personal obligations are recognized first to members of one's own family, then to neighbors, and ultimately to others also whom we may be able to help.

When we study the teachings of any great teacher of principles of right conduct, we are particularly interested in taking note whether the field which he has chosen for their application is restricted or inclusive. Do his teachings form an ethical system that may be described as moral finesse, which is practical only for the privileged few, or do his teachings have within them something that has power to reach the ordinary burden-bearing folk that make up the majority of the population in every country?

The moral consciousness of the age in which we are now living demands a religion that gives essential freedom and discipline for the recognition of the inherent rights of other people. The first of the Thirty Nine Articles that the United Nations drew up as a declaration of human rights declares: *"All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience, and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood."* Forty-eight nations voted in favor of this declaration. No nation dared to vote against it, though the Soviet Republic and its satellites, and also S. Africa, refrained from voting.

Another article in that Declaration of Human Rights to which I would direct your attention is the Eighteenth: *"Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others, and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance."* We should be glad that we have lived at the time in the world's history when forty-eight nations could agree on such a declaration. The existence of minorities in different countries is taken for granted, the difference of religious communities is recognized, inequalities in economic status are realistically appreciated, but it is absolutely necessary, in the interest of civilized society, for these inherent human rights to be granted and protected.

If we follow a religion that deprives particular communities of these inherent rights, then we say that the moral

consciousness of the present age demands that we change that religion. Furthermore, if we have no religion, in the sense of a conscious relation to God, but have been giving a sort of religious veneration to some economic system in which these inherent human rights are denied, then it is time to change that economic system.

The safe guide in human relations, whether between members of a family, between employees and their employers, between religious communities, or between nations, is the categorical imperative that was expressed and emphasized by Jesus: *"Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them likewise."* When on ethical grounds the requirements or customs of a religion need to be changed, we can do no better than to adhere to this Golden Rule, which is expressed in various forms in sayings that are attributed in Muslim traditions to their Prophet Muhammad:

> Seek for mankind that for which you are desirous for yourself, that you may be a believer.
>
> That which you want for yourself seek for mankind.
>
> The most righteous of men is the one who is glad that men should have what is pleasing to himself, and who dislikes for them what is for him disagreeable.
>
> Whatever you abhor for yourself, abhor it also for others, and whatever you desire for yourself desire also for others.

Hillel, the esteemed Jewish saint and scholar who died about ten years before the birth of Jesus, had given great emphasis to the command in the Torah, (Lv. 19:18), "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," which he declared to be the fundamental principle of the Jewish religion. This belief he is said to have expanded in a negative form in answer to one who had challenged him to state the required law while he could stand on one foot. His reply was, "What is hateful unto thee, do not do unto thy fellow. This is the great foundation; the rest is commentary. Go now and learn."

It is this negative form of the Golden Rule that appears in one of the recensions of the Acts of the Apostles. In the report of the decision that was reached by the Council in Jerusalem as to the things to be avoided by Christians (Acts 15:29), it is recorded in most of the recensions that they are to abstain from "things sacrificed to idols, and from blood and from things strangled, and from fornication." But in the Western recension (Code D), we find the addition of the words, "and whatsoever ye do not wish should be done unto you do not do to others."

While it may not have been correct to add this rule to the Minutes of the meeting in Jerusalem, we are certain that this addition was soon required by the moral sentiment of the early Christian community. It is included in the things that are prohibited in the chapter on "The Way of Life" in the *Didache*: "First of all, thou shalt love the Lord thy God who made thee. Secondly thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. And all things, then, whatsoever thou wouldst not wish to be done to thee, do thou also not to another." Also, in the *Apology* of Aristides we find that this prohibition is included in a summary of early Christian practice: "Whatever they do not wish to be done to them they do not to another."

To God-fearing people—whether Jews, Christians, or Muslims—I can with full confidence present the Golden Rule, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto others," as a sort of determining sliding-scale for those who are called upon by their own consciences to make changes in their personal religious attitudes, customs, or doctrines.

And as we think of religion as the God-consciousness of the religious communities in India—Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and Christians—we come to the conclusion that the requirements and sanctions that are set forth in any religion need to be examined from time to time in the light of this Golden Rule. In the bill before India for the reform of the Hindu Code we see that this sliding scale is beginning to be applied, particularly in regard to the personal and property

rights of women. Muslim women also are finding that they can now appeal to this same Golden Rule more successfully against the segregation from society that has been required of them by the purdah system. The Sikhs, whose religion has involved the repudiation of some things in Hinduism and some things in Islam, are learning that this Golden Rule that they claim should be observed by all is more to be relied on than the *kirpān* that they have carried as their own special privilege and distinction. Christian countries have found that it is the adherence to the Golden Rule that has freed slaves, that has given dignity to manual labor, that has built up institutions for the blind and the helpless, and that is now providing social security for the aged.

The world is watching to see how the new state of Israel will work out an adjustment between their ancient Jewish regulations and the demands of the moral consciousness of the present age. There may be some significant changes. Also the eyes of the world are now fixed on Pakistan, to see what modifications may be made in the Muslim *sharī'a*, especially whether that close union between religious and civil law that Islam has heretofore required will prove to be practicable.

iii. *Restoration to Health.* Another word that is employed in Arabic in the sense of "correction" is the word *taṣḥīḥ*. This word signifies making anything healthy and sound, with the special meaning that it must be made free from disease. When it is applied to religion it means that when a kind of weakness or paralysis comes over one's religious faith there ought to be something to do to bring it back to health. Or when serious infection has occurred that has ended in putrifaction, or a sort of rotting away, there ought still to be some method of treatment that would restore health and strength. Accordingly, we find that in Muslim books on Ethics there is almost invariably a concluding chapter on "The Cure of the Diseases of the Soul." The diseases that are described are anger, conceit, vanity, jesting, boastfulness, perfidy and unfairness. When a person is afflicted with one of these diseases it has been considered that

some radical change is needed in his religious outlook, to bring him back to a right perspective towards God and his fellow men. Obviously the recognition that the personal equation has much to do with the state of a man's religion gives these old books practical value.

While modern psychologists would classify the diseases of the soul (the self or the *ego)* somewhat differently, analysing various frustrations and complexes in their efforts to account for defective personal response to environment, yet their problem is much the same problem,—the soul needs to be made free from disease. And careful examination frequently reveals a real need for a radical change in the religious outlook. This is confirmed in a brief statement by the well-known psychoanalyst, Dr. Jung:

> "Among all my patients in the second half of life—that is to say over thirty-five—there has not been one whose problem in the last resort was not that of finding a religious outlook on life. It is safe to say that every one of them fell ill because he had lost that which the living religions of every age have given to their followers, and none of them has been really healed who did not regain his religious outlook."

If religion means little more than conformity to standards of respectability it needs to be changed for something more vital. If it has been only a type of communal or sectarian loyalty it will prove inadequate to the strain and stress of wider vision, of grave responsibility, of disappointment, or of tragic personal sorrow. Either one's own particular religion must be changed from within, so that the individual can feel that he has a conscious relation to God in which he can place confidence and take courage, or he must find some other religion that will have this essential value in his life. And any religious life that is self-centered is most likely to be suffering from a sort of atrophy, which is defined as "a wasting away through imperfect nourishment." Excessive introspection, habitual self-justification, and other similarly unsatisfying states of mind need the nourishment of those wider interests that are to be found only in willing and sincere concern for the welfare of other people.

iv. *Confirmation in Belief.* There is another significant Arabic word, *taṣdīq,* that means attesting, proving the truth of, verifying, believing. When a man's religion has been examined with the object of correcting it, whether by cleansing or by trimming away its extraneous growth through the process of *tahdhīb,* or by giving it discipline or education *(ta'dīb),* so that it may measure up to the moral standards, for example, that are demanded by the Golden Rule, or by setting it free from disease by treatment that is meant to restore it to health, *taṣḥīḥ,* we readily see how by means of each one of these processes changes will have taken place. These changes are necessary if religion is to be a vital force in the life of an individual or in the corporate life of a religious community. However, after a religion has been criticized and corrected as best we know how, there is always one great question that still remains: Do we then believe sincerely that it is true? Do we consider that it has been proved to be true in our own experience, and that we are ready to commit ourselves to it unreservedly as believers? This final process of verification, of confirmation in personal experience, is believing *(al-taṣdīq).*

We are aware that it is sometimes asserted by Muslims that any man who is ready to commit himself to God, and to seek to live a life according to the will of God, is a Muslim. As a matter of philosophy, in considering the strict meaning of the word *islām,* this may be said to be correct though historically the "submissim" required has been to God and His prophet. But any Muslim who is eager that his religion, i.e. his conscious relation to God, may have in it true life and real power, realizes that he must subject it repeatedly to *tahdhīb* (correction), to *ta'dīb* (discipline), to *taṣḥīḥ* (restoration to health), and finally to *taṣdīq* (confirmation in belief).

Religion, therefore, is concerned primarily with man's actual relation to God. Is this relation negative and sinful, or positive and believing? For man is man, as Emil Brunner has clearly shown, "because he always stands in relation to God, either negatively or positively." If a man's relation to

God is one of denial, rejection, repudiation—then it is negative, he shuts himself off from all that God would do for him. He needs then to change his conscious relation to God, his religion, and make it positive instead of negative. For when it becomes positive it will be receptive, obedient, understanding and triumphant. That which we have in common in the Jewish, the Muslim and the Christian religions is this great conception that man stands before God, responsible to Him.

I seem to hear the Jewish prophet Micah say: "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth Jehovah require of thee, but to do justly and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" (Micah 6:8). It is easy to imagine also that we can hear the Muslim prophet Muhammad solemnly declaring: "Verily, I fear, should I rebel against my Lord, the punishment of the great day," (Qur. 4:15), and also, "But on him who shall not believe on the signs of God—God will be prompt to reckon with him," (3:17). And when we try to listen to the Apostle Paul's quiet explanation of what he thought to be the Christian's conscious relation to the Heavenly Father whom Jesus had revealed, this is what we would hear: "But God, being rich in mercy, for His great love wherewith He loved us, even when we were dead through our trespasses, made us alive together with Christ . . . for by grace have ye been saved through faith, and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God" (Eph.2:4-8).

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HINDU-MUSLIM INTERCOURSE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR CHRISTIANITY

The learned Hindu has been more philosophically than historically inclined. His brother Muslim, on the other hand, has at least a heritage of history, for Islam has had its notable historians. Time, perhaps, is history's chief ingredient, and the Hindu has taken scant account of it, has reckoned little on the passing years, whereas the Muslim has recorded by year, month and day the movement of events and especially the rise and fall of dynasties. If the western student of Hindu-Muslim India would view the total scene he must seek it by way of historical perspective, and he will soon discover many analogies within it, and now and then some repetition—whatever the lessons to be learned therefrom. History, as Thucydides contended, does repeat itself, if not exactly, yet in very similar detail. And history in India and the East has done this, although its lessons have been ignored as often by Muslims in their own way as by Hindu Indians in theirs. One lesson which has been of late unheeded, and which still insists on being learned and recognized in actual practice is that an exchange of populations between two hostile nations is not primarily in itself conducive to cordiality between them and to peace and progress.

Twenty-five years ago Lloyd George, Prime Minister of Britain, was bungling so badly the affairs of Greece and Turkey that he lost his office at the conclusion of the Graeco-Turkish war (1919-1922 A.D.). A million Greeks fled meanwhile from Turkey into already crowded parts of Greece, and Turks by the tens of thousands moved over into Turkish Thrace. America (the U.S. Government and other interests) is sharing now on a lesser scale, perhaps, the bungling of affairs among the Arabs and the Jews of Palestine. And since August 15, 1947, on a vastly larger scale the futile tragedy of exchange has followed the separation of Pakistan from India. Hindus and Sikhs to the number of 5,200,000 by a recent estimate have moved from Pakistan

to India, and 5,600,000 Muslims by the same trustworthy estimate have crossed from India into Pakistan—and the end is not yet. The separation of the two states is merely one bare fact. There are other elements involved. Rumor has it that half a million lives were lost during the excitement, disorder and outrage attendant upon the separation. But not all Muslims have moved out of India—nearly forty millions of them still remain. And there are millions of Hindus —and thousands of Sikhs—still in Pakistan. And the tension, as between the major and the minor party, still continues.

The national separation and the popular exchange may be held in this instance to be symbolical of Hindu-Muslim intercourse since Hindus and Muslims first encountered one another. The interests of two great religions are at stake and the two communities of devotees have associated with each other under tension which every now and then has given way to violence.

A possible resolution of the strain is the burden of this present essay, a resolution with which the Christian might be as much concerned as is the Hindu or the Muslim.

The present India has proclaimed no state religion—nor has Hinduism, its prevailing faith, ever been officially her state religion, the faith having no organization which might provide for such a status. In contrast Islam is virtually (constitutionally) the Pakistani faith,—even though Islam has never been established, save in Arabia, as the *sole* religion of any nation. The traditions of Pakistan are not, of course, Arabian, save as Islam has been a medium of transfer, and the leaders of the state are products of its own soil, some of them quite liberal in matters of religion, including several who are Muslim in name only. Pakistan nevertheless is Muslim and India is Hindu in national consciousness and behavior, and the exchange of populations has enhanced this state of mind. Pakistan has become through this exchange a somewhat more homogeneous nation—as was the case with Turkey—although, as in Turkey's case, also, at serious sacrifice of many economic assets and industrial skills. But India is far from unity in any major, realistic sense (witness the present subdivisions among the Hindu

parties), nor will homogeneity ever be achieved by her. That is, India is too largely a congeries of social and religious elements. Solidarity of some other sort, political, let us say, may be slowly cultivated and attained, but if it comes about, it will mean little more than diversity administratively controlled.

We westerners, especially Christians with a "missionary" interest, may find in India and in Pakistan as nations a background both symbolical and real for our close attention to moral and religious aspects, in particular, of Hindu-Muslim intercourse in the past, the present and the future years. We may assume that Hinduism as religion will continue to be indigenous, fluid and absorbent, that it will survive any temporary indifference or hostility on the part of any of its devotees, and will minister, even passively, to the spiritual demands of the Hindu masses. We may likewise assume that Islam both in India and in Pakistan will continue operation as a definite religion, as a brotherhood with missionary zeal which in its turn resists non-Muslim thoughts and practices. Islam has maintained itself apart from Christianity, as in nearer Asia, apart from Judaism, as in Palestine, and apart from Hinduism, as in India and in Pakistan. There is a "house of Islam," of whatever clime or latitude, in contrast with non-Muslims everywhere. Circumstance has sometimes induced commingling, but crises have often called for segregation with tragedy attending it, as in the Panjab recently.

This paper ventures to propose some change of tactics on the part of any one religion in its dealings with another, but with special reference to the Hindu-Muslim situation, whether in India or in Pakistan. It treats not only of their mutual relations, but of the status also of each faith with reference to Religion-as-a-whole, to the goal which Religion-in-itself has set for all religions. The science of Comparative Religion would suggest the method, a science to which both Hindus and Muslims—as well as others, also,—have already deliberately contributed, and a method other than that of sheer apologetics. Comparisons between two faiths, or among them all, are made, but in purely objective fashion. The comparisons of apologetics have been always somewhat

odious, usually quite partisan, and the practical demand of him that made them has been the conversion of all dissenters to his own point of view. Whereas, comparisons are possible and evaluations justifiable, if by a scientific method, such as this, perhaps: 1) intelligently cautious observation of physical and mental contacts and reactions between members of different religions who are living in communities where the observer has adequate acquaintance; 2) an analysis through which may be detected and disclosed the influences and conditions, whether resistent or receptive, which express themselves as economic, political, or social, pressure (what but politics, for example, made so extraordinary the Hindu-Muslim tension recently in the Nizam's Dominion?); 3) a reckoning meanwhile with Religion-as-such (it must be assumed that the observer has some competence herein, has some knowledge of religious standards, whether he has gained it through deduction or induction, and is prepared to be impartial in his tests and judgments); and 4) the assumption that some specific results of human contacts are inevitable; that some principles persist and operate both in action and reaction, and that in every human lump, including a lump of devotees to any single faith, is leaven of some sort which will produce by contact with another mass something new and different (this assumption in comparative religion is amply justified by many another science, also).

There is more at stake than strictly scientific method and a purely objective estimate of its returns. We are dealing with Religion *and* religions and have therein a constructive and practical concern which would enlist resources beyond the reach of science. Men's common sense and imagination can be enlisted, historical perspective can be introduced among them. It can be shown, for instance, that conflicts within the realm of dogma, or tactics of mutual obstruction among communities as such, have yielded little if any lasting fruit for spiritual survival. At the same time it can be urged that there is a worthy, even an essential, place for rivalry and competition whereby inherent assets are progressively developed for the common good. Competition is itself a basic principle, if it be the exercise of rivalry in good works.

This holds true within a given faith and among the many faiths, and true also, whether within a small locality, or a province, or a nation, or the world. It is not ultimately difficult to distinguish between what advances human welfare and what retards it. By their immediate fruits the theories of things are tested.

Islam is a product of its own Arabia, of the Hijaz, in particular, and of a given era in Arabian affairs. It was at first the religion of Muhammad, and the Qur'ān was his book. What Islam became with the passage of the years is in itself another story, but it can be justly said that when it entered India it was, in general, alien to that foreign soil. Something common could be found, however, between Islam and Hinduism, although what was obvious, say around the year 1000 A.D., was the variety of cults and cultures, now the Semitic and then the Indo-European. There had long been many kinds of Hindus, and by that time there were many kinds of Muslims, but Islam and Hinduism stood mutually opposed, leaving the coming years to discover anything in common. Hinduism, of course, had never made theology a test of faith—its sects were not theological before the coming of Islam—, but offered Muslims other sorts of opposition or resistance. Theology was paramount with Muslims and what they saw of Hindu gods and idols was offensive to them—they were not aware of Hindu scriptures or of any other ground, such as the symbolism of the idol, on which to tolerate the Hindu (Muhammad himself, without knowing Hinduism, had ordained tolerance for "peoples of the book"). It was only after many years that certain Hindu and certain Muslim mystics found a way to translate into community of spirit many variant terms in the two vocabularies. Experience and intuition came into subtle conflict (or contest?) now and then with orthodox tradition.

It was idolatry which became in India the burning issue with the Muslim. It alone connoted many gods and there was nothing more abominable to him than what he termed "association" *(shirk),* or linking for purposes of reverent thought and worship any other gods with God—Muslims learned but slowly of the Hindu Absolute beyond the many

gods. Iconoclasm was frequently indulged in, as with Mahmud of Ghazni (and Timur, also, who attacked some Muslims themselves who then were tolerating idols), even though Muslim warfare and conquests were not deemed always "holy war" *(jihād)*. Indeed, Islam expanded through missions and peaceable adjustment as well as through *jihād,* and we can come to see, if we are not aware of it already, that the basic intolerance toward the non-Muslim, which Islam brought into India, was modified inevitably by time and circumstance, by Islam's conversion, for example, of hosts of native Indians. The human factor, after all, has been itself a major avenue of intercourse and of exchange between the Semitic and the Indo-Aryan cultures. While conversions to Islam occurred sometimes through forceful pressure, adjustment through other means has been more consequential, and this concerns us now especially as we seek intelligent cooperation between these two competing faiths.

Usually the tension between Hindus and Muslims has existed short of violence, and when violence has occurred, it has not been in the Muslim view *jihād*. It has sometimes come about through an exchange of populations, so to speak, —that is, by conversion and reconversion which at first had gone on peacefully, until communal consciousness became aroused. Conversion itself should be examined, analysed for what light it gives us in our present quest, but conversion figures only slightly, if at all, today in either Pakistan or India. In fact, during the last hundred years, with India at peace under British rule, the two religious groups have grown mainly by the reproduction of their own. There have been notable exceptions (see below). Conversion, when it has occurred, has been a cause of controversy, along with three other issues, namely, cow-killing, shrine-desecration, and instrumental music in proximity to mosques. Some Hindus in conference assembled in 1927 agreed that persons eighteen years of age or older might change their faith, if through argument and persuasion and not by force, but this judgment did not hold. Orthodox Hindus, brahmans, in particular, have looked long with indifference upon untouchables, have been unconcerned when these became con-

verted to Islam (or to Christianity, or to Sikhism), and members of these depressed classes have yielded to conversion as a means of improving their condition. It is not surprising that these outcaste *harijans* supported lately and so largely the Pakistani national objective, although it remains to be seen what their lot will be in Pakistan. But the high caste Hindus came in time to be concerned—when politics came into play and the general social consciousness became aroused—, and now that India is independent, the lower classes may find improvement within the range of Hinduism, as the total situation is reorganized, and as they come to share increasingly in the political administration of the state.

The *shuddhi,* the *sanghatan,* the *tanzīm* and the *tablīgh* movements of a recent time, in Bengal especially where the Hindu and Muslim populations have been comparable in size, might adequately represent the tension during comparatively peaceful times whenever communal solidarity has been at stake. These movements were deliberate, even controversial, propaganda. The Muslims of Bengal declared twenty years ago their aim to foster their own social and spiritual ideals, to cultivate internal loyalty—even to some riddance from their midst of undesirables—, and to insist that as a community they would live on friendly terms with those of other faiths and cooperate with all in every worthy program of national progress and reform. This was their *tanzīm,* or "ordering," i.e., toward constructive rehabilitation, a most worthy enterprise. But this liberal view was qualified unduly by *tablīgh* on the part of the more zealous Muslims, by which they would "get possession of" the whole of India, perhaps, or, at least, of the eighty millions of depressed classmen. *Tablīgh* consequently met with obvious Hindu opposition, for there was acute political tension at the time—such as bore eventual fruit, by the way, in the inclusion of East Bengal in Pakistan. Hindus then discovered that they did not want these folk to register outside of Hinduism. What, therefore, was to be done?

A program of "cleansing" *(shuddhi)* and of "consolidation" *(sanghatan)* was attempted at the instigation chiefly

of the Arya Samaj, a brahmanical, anti-Muslim, anti-Christian, anti-modernistic and pro-Vedic party which had been organized before any civil law existed which might be applied to inter-faith relations. It sought protection for Hinduism against loss by economic, social or political pressure, or even by persuasian. There had been losses by conversion, and Hinduism would reclaim those who had been lost. Of course, religious freedom has now been proclaimed in the constitutions of the two new states, whatever this provision may come to mean. The Hindu program of consolidation gained momentum, no one giving it more attention than the late Pandit Madan Mohan Malawiyya of the influential Hindu University in Benares who kept urging Hindu social, cultural and religious solidarity,—and his insistence met with marked and favorable response. *Shuddhi,* however, when it actually took place, reclaiming former Hindus from Islam, laid those who were thus reconverted open to severe reprisal—and outrages inevitably occurred, the punishment ordained by Muslim law for apostasy being death. In Pakistan just now, in theory, at least, the punishment of death for this offense against Islam might be legally enforced,—but the relation of Muslim *fiqh,* or Canon Law, to the Pakistani constitution has not yet been determined in detail. Apostasy has entailed loss of life and property throughout the history of Islam, but Pakistan is sure to be more lenient. In India the case is vastly different, Hinduism having never made by any legal code provision against apostasy,—except for certain penalties short of death for breaking caste. Even so, custom more than law has ruled, and India still has the baffling task before her of reconciling in actual practice the codes of law and custom.

Of great importance for our theme is the case of silent, subtle, but not always unconscious interchange. Hinduism and Islam have exerted influence upon each other, working generally as definite religions but sometimes reflecting, whether consciously or not, the forces of Religion-in-itself. There have been unlettered village-singers among the lower ranks of Muslims and of Hindus in Bengal, for instance, who have given naïve and spontaneous expression to a uniform

and bi-religious intensity of spirit. They have sung in mystic phrase of divine and universal love. As Hindus, they were in general Vaishnavite; as Muslims, they were of the *sufi*-order. There have been in other parts of India Husayni brahmans, Hindus who have borne upon their foreheads the Hindu tilak-mark, sign of orthodox devotion, but have cherished the memory of Husayn, Muhammad's grandson who was martyred for his faith (?) at Karbala, who have kept the Islamic fast of Ramadan; and they also have revered the shrine at Ajmir of the *sufi* saint Mu'inu'd-din Chishti (Sufism began to make its way into India in the eleventh century, A.D. and began to affect the mind of Indian peoples quite considerably from about 1200 A.D. on, several *sufi* orders gaining wide acceptance, e.g., Chishti, Suhrawardi and Qadiri). There was much in Hinduism which offered Sufism a ready field, and Sufism was itself modified when once it had entered it. Islam took over much that was earlier Hindu, not by a deliberate process, for Hinduism represented to the Muslim unbelief, but by habitual adjustment. Muslims got hold of Hindu proverbs, for example, and felt some of the force thereby of Hindu ethics. And when the Muslim intelligentia discovered Hindu literature, they began to reckon with it, and eventually some scientific interactions followed.

It was mostly in the mystic realm that community of interest was discovered (and we may cautiously observe, not sentimentally but scientifically, that therein the Hindus and the Muslims have come the nearest to spiritual reality, to Religion-in-itself). Muslim asceticism *(zuhd)* had begun to show, even before Islam was well established within India, "strong evidences of the impression of Indian ideals of life" (the quotation is from Goldziher). Mystical *fana*—call it "extinction," in a word—either was an effect from, or else felt the influence of, the Hindu idealism which called for a "vanishing" of the devotee into the Absolute. By whatever means,—and we are not ignoring Greek thought in the distance—there developed within Islam the concept of absorption into Allah,—a far cry from anything Quranic, or even from scholastic Islam, also. This is not to say that harmony was found with Hinduism thus. Indeed, something

of contest was engendered (due at the very least to the absence of a common language medium) between the brahman Shankara's conception of *advaita* (ninth century, A.D.), a "non-dualism," or monistic idealism, and the *sufi* concept of *tawḥīd,* or "oneness." There was an "inner meaning" to these two concepts which their advocates did not agree upon. For that matter, neither the Muslims themselves, nor the Hindus themselves agreed among themselves with reference to the inner meaning of the Universe, of the Absolute, or of God. Nevertheless, there was much assumed between certain members of the two communities, which warranted their devotion to one another's theories and gods. Thus Muslim poets joined Hindus in hymns of praise to Kali, the mother-spirit of Bengal, and other Muslims joined with Hindus in the festivals of Holi and Diwali. And Hindus have shared Muharram, the tragedy of Karbala, with Muslims, or have joined *sufi* fraternities.

We are still further interested in more deliberate programs of accord, for this essay must end in such an offering. The Kabirpanthis and the Nanakpanthis, for example—not to mention our own interpretation of the gospels of Kabir and Nanak—, offered means of reconciliation, but, unfortunately, the former lapsed eventually into an indifferent existence and the latter developed gradually into an aggressive, independent status of its own—better known to us as Sikhism. Ahmadiyya Islam, with its headquarters at Qadian in India, proposed a peaceful means to universal brotherhood, but it has been virtually rejected by militant Islam (much of the Ahmadiyya gospel might well remind one of the analogous Baha'i). The Sikhs as such, and for their very numbers, must now be reckoned with,—and thus we reckon with the gospel of their founder Nanak. But Kabir is one of many Hindus and Ahmadiyya is a Muslim movement. However natural and spontaneous any movement may have been, its lasting value must be comparatively measured, and that means an estimate based upon such items as its membership and its actual extent. Our concern now is with the great religions of mankind and not with minor movements, and we look for no new and extra agencies of reconciliation.

There is no need of any new religion. The major faiths to which men now subscribe have it within themselves to establish among men a universal fellowship. Hindus and Muslims might of their own resources find accord in Pakistan and India—if once their own potentials are discovered to them, a service for which a third religion might be reasonably enlisted. Christianity, for example, might be, after all, the best qualified and most resourceful medium, its office not being, however, the mere conversion of Hindus and Muslims to what it has already manifested of Religion-in-itself, for Christian doctrine, history and organization are not in themselves as yet sufficiently harmonious and final. Christianity, nevertheless, has had far more experience of the world than any other faith has had, and its effective office need not be rejected merely because it has not reconciled within itself contending elements—the Graeco-Judaistic, for example. But in the end Hinduism and Islam themselves must learn accord. Christianity will continue to be various, as other major faiths, also, will be. Our problem, therefore, is Unity in the midst of variation, peace among religions and good will throughout mankind.

We may venture, then, to offer a suggestion with reference in detail to what an able agent of the old and widespread Christian order might reasonably attempt in Hindu-Muslim intercourse with good prospect of approval by sincere and forward-looking members of all three faiths. He need not disturb directly religious balances of power, nor even recognize as such comparative statistics. He will be, of course, a Christian missionary, an official agent of the Christian Church, He will serve as an evangelist, by which we mean a messenger with good news. But conversion in any nominal and narrow sense will not be his objective. He will not intrude, but will carry his credentials to responsible officials among the Hindus and the Muslims and gain their confidence as a non-partisan worker for the common good. He could well afford to be established as a *guru,* a preceptor, to give instruction in the history of religions, in the philosophy of religion, and in anything it takes to make an intelligent and moral man. As an educated Christian with his own

religion's heritage of Graeco-Judaistic elements, he would be admirably equipped to wrestle with predominantly Indo-Aryan (Indo-European) Hinduism and Arabico-hellenized (and somewhat Persianized) Islam. He would guard against appeal to any weak or false analogy, whether by himself or by his friends the Hindus and the Muslims (Islam as well as Christianity has erred disastrously already in the East in this regard, while they have otherwise justly sought to identify *as one* certain elements in various religions).

The time has come when Hinduism, Islam and Christianity should know each other thoroughly, and in achieving this should find the "inner meaning" of morals and religion. It is not an inner meaning which stems from any single Adam, or any primeval human pair, or from any single group at a given spot which the followers of any faith have thought to be the place where humans first appeared upon the earth. It is, rather, the inner meaning which God himself has given to the universe, and which men will discover as they learn progressively of God. This is what we mean by Religion-in-itself, a concept which reflects the ideal of perfection, which all religions must approach by mutual assistance. It lies ahead, even though it may have been revealed here a little, there a little, in times past. Hinduism and Islam have each had their theories of "revelation," but the record of it is surer in Islam, the Vedas of the Hindu *rishis* having been but orally transmitted for so long. It is provincial, however, for any one religion to assume the complete revelation of all truth to it alone, especially when what has been revealed is known, recorded and transmitted in a partial language. No such claim for Vedic (or later, Sanskrit) or for Arabic can be justly made by which Truth is made to flow in a single channel to all the world. A more highly moral view of sacred scripture should be learned. And by this the Hindu could come to call the Qur'ān *shruti,* "revelation," as the Muslim calls it *waḥy,* and the Muslim could call the basic scriptures of the Hindu *waḥy,* as the Hindu calls them *shruti.* Mystics of the two religions might find some intuitional accord. All Hindus could stay Hindu and yet find a place for Allah, could even call him *Ishwar* (as

orthodox as *Rabb*) while they made an ideal Absolute for all their gods. Muslims might recognize with Hindus the symbolism of their many gods and make Allah himself a symbol also for purposes of friendly intercourse. The struggle with mere vocabulary is not final, as Nanak, for example, thought of it. His solution of *Sat Nam,* "True Name," was well intended, but it in turn became exclusive.

It is in itself no tragedy that Hinduism and Islam have maintained themselves in separate camps; it is their hostility which is tragic, their failure to appreciate each other. Muslim zeal and Hindu laxity should not be contrasted and condemned as such. The Muslim has indeed been more devoted to his god Allah than the Hindu devotee has been to Krishna, Rama, or any other of his gods, and the Hindu philosopher has been more intangibly abstract than any Muslim theologian. Also, the Muslim theory of Unity, Allah's Oneness *(tawḥīd),* has been simpler, more comprehensible than the Vedantic One which has been so consistently a matter of sheer intellectual speculation. Islamic mysticism retained its theism, whereas Vedantic *advaita,* before the coming of Islam, was supremely metaphysical, with the world of the five (or six) senses reduced to *maya,* phenomenality, illusion. The contrasts between Islam and Hinduism are not in themselves finalities, but must be reckoned as complementary. The fourfold scientific method (see above) should be first applied to them, and among the data thus brought into the total view would be such influential factors as the seasons, the rains, the actinic rays, the diet, the languages and leading personalities. And Religion-as-a-whole would solve the contrasts and the conflicts one by one, taking into due account the temporary, contributory values on display, while it calls for what can be accomplished in the end by man's own faith and the grace of God.

In other words, while Religion-as-such may be the common goal, it can be attained only through immediate, specific loyalties in sincere, effectual cooperation. And this holds true both in India and in Pakistan, whether with the majority or the minority in each—and what is major in one is minor in the other. There is no racial conflict, but only

religious communalism, to be resolved. Perhaps the gulf between the Hindu and the Muslim has been deeper than any cleavage within Christendom itself. Let there be a continuation of Hinduism and Islam, but let the broader basis of religion be disclosed. Nothing superficial nor syncretistic will be sought, but only what is fundamental and substantial in theology and morals—and religion will be found to be the route to morals.

Perhaps the most immediate and practical solution lies in brotherhood. Islam has been already a brotherhood within itself and should learn to make it more extensive. The India constitution as a legal document, at least, intends to break up caste, but it will take a thoroughgoing social revolution to achieve this good. Islam has known a great deal of the world, while Hinduism has remained at home, but the larger world must be experienced by both. Hinduism and Islam should not continue to represent two different civilizations, as Mr. Jinnah says they have already done, but should supplement each other within a common culture, through a cultural interchange which can be counted on to work out with general satisfaction, if their devotees seek honestly mutual understanding of their assets and their imperfections, and sincerely strive as friendly rivals in sympathetic cooperation toward perfection. If it be the high privilege of any Christian to assist in this, so be it. What greater office could he covet in religious education? What more fertile field could be discovered for comparative religion? What higher goal can men of all religions set than the ultimate attainment of spiritual and moral Truth and Life? Hindu-Muslim intercourse is in itself the greatest opportunity which Christianity, at least, has ever faced, say what you will of what Hindus and Muslims themselves can and should accomplish.

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THE UMMĪ PROPHET AND THE BANU ISRAIL OF THE QUR'ĀN

1. *Literary Sources and Approach.* The reader is, for a moment, requested to disregard interpretations previously applied by mediaeval Islamic commentators and modern scholars in reference to both the meaning of the term *ummiyyūn*[1] and the circumstances of the Banu Israil of the Prophetic era.[2] Such elimination, however, does not encroach upon, nay will enhance the status of the Qur'ān as the only contemporary source of documentary value.

In his approach to the subject, the writer finds himself in line with De Lacy O'Leary who, in *Arabia before Muhammad,* London & New York, 1927, p. 190, had suggested that "the application of comparative sociology might bring more evidence to light" about the re-evaluation of social values which occurred in the lifetime of the Prophet.

2. *The Ummī Prophet.* While the Qur'ān does not seem to chalk out a detailed program for world conquest—as this would have anticipated a later stage of Islamic expansion—it, nevertheless, contains elements whose potential implication appears to be as universal as the message of the Kingdom of the Lord itself. "Say to them, O men! Verily I am unto you all the Apostle of God whose is the Kingdom of the Heavens and of the Earth . . . therefore believe in God and His Apostle, the *ummī* prophet" (Sura 7:157).

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[1] While interpretations of the word *ummī* otherwise range from "gentile," vide E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon,* to "Arab of pure blood," vide A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed,* Cambridge, 1932, p. 6, it is worthy of note that Theodor Noeldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans,* Leipzig, 1909, vol. I. p. 14 at least has a footnote discussing the similarity between the Arabic *umma* and the Hebrew "am-ha'aretz."

[2] Out of the host of authors such as A. Geiger, J. Horovitz, H. Lammens, R. Leszynski, D. S. Margoliouth and C. C. Torrey who have dealt with the subject either monographically or in some more general context, one deserves a special reference here, viz. H. Hirschfeld. He is keenly aware of the fact that "Jews" and "Banu Israil" are not just interchangeable names in the phraseology of the Qur'ān. In his *New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Qoran,* London, 1902, p. 27, he contends that the Prophet saw in the Jews "the representatives of a ritual code," while the Banu Israil were in the Prophet's mind "but a historical remembrance"; as a people "they disappear at the time of Jesus." However, Hirschfeld himself does not remain consistent throughout. Where the Prophet addresses the Banu Israil proper, Hirschfeld interprets (l. c., p. 107) "the Jews are meant."

Muhammad had, after an initial disappointment with the rich men of Mekka, become deeply apprehensive of the customary derogatory attitude of inherited or acquired, but generally irresponsible wealth (Sura 3:9, 74). He likewise crusaded against the hypocrites and sophisticated in spirit wherever they were found. In rallying behind himself the *ummiyyūn,* the Prophet must, therefore, have looked out for supporters to whom neither of the aforementioned categories applied. The *ummiyyūn* in the Prophet's appraisal, consequently, seem to have assumed the character rather of non-mercantile and non-intellectual people, nearer to, and better capable of, a genuine understanding of the unadulterated message of the Lord.[3]

As a canonic representative of perfect "muslim" attitude, Muhammad carefully[4] chose Abraham, the Patriarch (Sura 3:66). Dogma apart, such symbol must transcend the limits of nation, creed, education and status in life, though a tendency towards sentimental romantic over-simplification sometimes is at play in the mind of a social revolutionary. Abraham was the lineal ancestor of both Arabic and Israelitic tribes. He was already held in reverence by Jews and Christians who, it was once hoped, would swell the ranks of Muhammad's *ummī* society and creed. Abraham's trust in the Lord was epitomised in the "Book," though it was within the grasp of the unsophisticated believer as well. Abraham, in his days, had been a nomad, as was the majority of Hijaz tribesmen to whom Muhammad appealed. Abraham impersonated classical simplicity as opposed to more sophisticated civilization. "Back to Abraham," the embodiment of an original natural order, did perhaps in a sense anticipate the much later Rousseauic call of "retour à la

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[3] How such approach is in continuity with the attitude of earlier prophets preceding Muhammad has, in more detail, been shown by I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien,* vol. II., "Hadith und Neues Testament," Halle 1890, p. 382ff.

[4] That the choice of Abraham as a symbol was the result of a deliberate quasi-political calculation as well, has previously been suggested by D. S. Margoliouth, *The Relations between Arabs and Israelites prior to the Rise of Islam,* London, 1924, p. 12.

nature" which, in the 18th century, preceded the break of the French Revolution.

The very word *umma,*—people, seems to lend itself to a revolutionary social interpretation. Muhammad looked upon himself as the *ummī* or "popular" prophet in a sense somewhat similar to, but, of course, much more comprehensive in comparison with modern occidental "popular" movements and fronts. The *ummī* prophet was to be the leader of the masses against privileged minorities of wealth and sophistication. His message addressed itself to *ummiyyūn* comprising as the case might be, Arabs and Non-Arabs, monotheists and heathens, literates and illiterates, nomads and oasis dwellers.

3. *Jews and Banu Israil.* The Prophet had no dealings with the Jews of Babylon, the Mediterranean area or Europe, but with the Banu Israil of the Hijaz only, although he was aware of the existence of the others. Less than a hundred years prior to Muhammad's birth, the Talmud had been completed in Babylon. At that time, there was complete agreement, intra muros et extra, as to who was a Jew and what constituted the essence of Judaism. A Jew was a follower of the Mosaic Law as interpreted by the teachers of the Law in accordance with principles laid down in the Talmud. Jews were mainly organized in urban congregations deriving their livelihood preferably from trade and crafts. Their mind as well as their ritual became increasingly intricate, their attitude more and more exclusive. Whoever did not conform, whether due to spiritual disagreement, weaker intellectual urge or just because he was isolated and did not know better, was discounted. If he was Israelitic by descent, he could not be deprived of his birthright, viz., to be called Ben Israel, as in Arabia, or Beth Israel, as in Ethiopia, and the like. But he did not qualify for the name "Jew" which implied unconditional adherence to the principles and decisions of the Talmud. The Ben Israel was looked down, on the part of the Jew, as an "am-ha-'aretz," a backward man of the land. The larger unit, then, was one constituted by descent: Israel comprised "scholars

and ignorants alike,"[5] the former—Jews, the latter—"am-ha'aretz."

Two Medinese Suras of the Qur'ān bear out that the Prophet was fully aware of the cleavage between "those who have been given the Book and the *ummiyyūn* (Sura 3:19). This formula, if translated into Hebrew, literally tallies with Rashi's afore quoted "talmid and am-ha'aretz." Obviously there is even a linguistic analogy between the Arabic *umma* and the Hebrew "am-ha 'aretz," both implying a non-urbanised, non-mercantile, non-intellectual and non-sophisticated type of man.

Being of the latter structure—"*ummiyyūn* who know not the Book" (Sura 2: 78)—the Banu Israil of the Hijaz were deemed eligible to join the movement inaugurated by the Prophet. There is no suggestion of Allah's curse—as in the instance of the Jews[6]—in connection with the Banu Israil, but the ever-recurring reference to the favor which He bestowed on them in that He made them excel the nations (Sura 2:40,47,122).

Except for an occasional statement of theological differences, in regard to the Prophet's teachings on the Hereafter, Sura 2:86, the Qur'ān does not indicate why the Banu Israil refused to fall in line and gave battle. The story of abortive resistance needs no repetition for the purpose of this study.[7] Suffice it to say that the Prophet appears to have been at a

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[5] The formula was coined by Rashi, mediaeval master commentator of the Talmud, in reference to Sotah 49a, quoted by Samuel M. Blumenfield, *Master of Troyes,* New York, 1946, p. 25.

[6] It seems by no means necessary to explain the Prophet's hostility towards the Jews as the result of deep disappointment when he finally realised that they refused to be converted (H. Lammens, *L'Arabie Occidentale avant l'Hégire,* Beyrouth, 1928, p. 73), or to assume that the Prophet's strategy was the incidental consequence of his ignorance (H. Hirschfeld, 1 c., p. 27). On the contrary, in that the Prophet was aware of the resentment of "Jews" against "am-ha'aretz," and as his goal was the rallying of the Banu Israil under his standards, it might have been intentional if he tried to drive a wedge between Jews and Banu Israil. The latter, brought up in the Arabic language themselves, could perhaps have doubly appreciated a specific Semitic weapon applied in this battle of wits, viz. the play on words. The Prophet applied an Arab etymology to the word *Yahūd* which gave it the meaning that the bearers of that name were cursed by Allah (while the Hebrew etymology of "Yehuda," 1. Mos, XXIX, 35, incidentally suggests that he is "the one for whose gift thanks are rendered."

[7] R. Leszynski, *Die Juden in Arabien zur Zeit Mohammeds,* Berlin, 1910; S. Dubnow, *Weltgeschichte des Juedischen Volkes,* III, 398 ff.

loss to fully appreciate the negative attitude of the Banu Israil[8] and in the absence of a rational explanation, had to refer to Allah's will manifesting itself in the tragedy (Sura 59:3,6;33:27). Only under Muhammad's successor, 'Umar, were the last hopes of a peaceful amalgamation of the Banu Israil shelved. There remained nothing but final separation. In 640 C.E., the Banu Israil of Khaibar and neighboring places were sent north into Syria. Arab pressure, though, went on increasing and the invasion of Syria was imminent.

4. *The Bene Israel of India.* It seems to have escaped the attention of students of both Arab and Jewish history that circumstances such as those just described loom large in the traditions of the Bene Israel of India to explain their flight across the high seas. Their very existence had been unknown to both co-religionists and scholars until David Rahaby (1721-1791), a merchant and political negotiator from Cochin, chanced to spot them in their villages on the Konkan coast south of Bombay. They referred to themselves as Bene Israel and repudiated the appellation as "Jews." Of the Mosaic ritual they had retained the Sabbath, circumcision and dietary laws. Pre-exilic holidays were familiar. They knew the sublime formula "Hear, O Israel," but were not in possession of the Bible or prayerbooks. They cultivated the land and worked as oil-pressers. Mentally and socially they constituted an exact replica of what a talmudically educated Jew would have described as "am-ha'aretz" and the Qur'ān as *ummiyyūn* respectively. Their forefathers, they stated, had left a northern country for fear of impending aggression from hostile neighbors. Seven ships[9] with Refugees had eventually reached Nawgaon on the Konkan coast of India where they went ashore.

"Northern country" is now a somewhat vague expres-

[8] Not with particular reference to the Banu Israil, but in a review of the Medinese period in the Prophet's career, De Lacy O'Leary sums up as follows, "In those enterprises the Prophet and his immediate successors show a hesitating and dubious attitude; obviously their hands were forced and they take the lead reluctantly" (*Arabic Thought and its Place in History,* London, 1922, p. 58).

[9] A late codification of this tradition talks of "couples" rather than "ships," vide Kehimkar, *A History of the Bene Israel of India,* Tel Aviv, 1937, whereas the writer follows an earlier narrative as recorded in the *Journal of the Rev. Joseph Wolff,* London, 1839.

sion[10] but has a very concise connotation in Arabic: *Sham* or "northern country" adjoins Hijaz from beyond Wadi 'l Qura right up to Damascus.[11] While it had previously been assumed that those Banu Israil who had made good their escape from Hijaz had gradually been absorbed by Near Eastern Jewish communities, it seems permissible to suggest that a group of fugitives turned to a sea-port, say Akaba, boarded ships in search of new homes and eventually reached the Indian west coast. Such assumption carries the logical advantage of dispensing with the theory that the Bene Israel, while in India, forgot the essence of Judaism. In point of fact, the similarity of living conditions and mentality between the former Banu Israil of Hijaz and the mediaeval Bene Israel of India is striking. India's hospitality to aliens has traditionally been such that none had to give up their inherited ways of life and thought. Internal circumstantial evidence, thus, seems to go a long way toward supporting the thought that two hitherto disconnected events, such as the expulsion of the Banu Israil from Hijaz and the arrival of the Bene Israel in India have, in actuality, been interrelated.

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[10] Earlier theories, recorded by Kehimkar, 1. c and J. H. Lord, *"The Jews in India,"* Kolhapur, 1907, have tried to identify the "northern country" alternatively with the Kingdom of Samaria, Yemen, the Persian Gulf area and the region comprising Afghanistan and Kashmir.

[11] vide H. Lammens, 1. c., p. 311, and C. Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie,* Amsterdam, 1776, vol. I, p. 275.

THE ASCETICAL-MYSTICAL MOVEMENT AND ISLAM

The ascetical-mystical movement in Islam kept moral and religious sentiments alive, which the legal and theological discussions of the ninth and tenth centuries to a large extent ignored, and it restored these sentiments finally after some four centuries to Muslim religious thought, revivifying that thought, to use al-Ghazzālī's expressive phrase, by turning it from unprofitable speculation about juristic and theological problems, to reflection upon the immediate facts of religious experience. And it may do so again, if only the blighting influence of Ibn al-'Arabī's monistic theories can be dammed and set aside. For, as Professor Louis Massignon has pointed out, Islam owes to Ibn al-'Arabī, for all his brilliant fantasy and extraordinary powers of synthesis, the stultifying divorce between ascetic discipline and mystical theology and the barren schism between the mystical vocation and its social basis;[1] and mystical thought divorced from moral feeling and stripped of social obligation is religiously flat and sterile.

But the passage from the grim transcendent God of the early ascetes to the pantheism of Ibn al-'Arabī was not the most significant development in thought for the religious life in Islam. The conception of man's nature and of his place in the Creation underwent a radical change long before Muslim mystical theology was delivered, as Professor Massignon puts it, to the monism of the Carmathians.[2] The impotent, earthy creature of the Qur'ān and Genesis 2:7 is already, for Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 728), as with Diadochus of Photice, a heart sentient and knowledgeable,[3] in which God, according to al-Muḥāsibī (d. 857), has implanted mysterious treasures, by which man can be united to the Well-Beloved;[4] and with Yaḥyā b. Mu'ādh Rāzī (d. 871) he becomes a soul, to know which is to know God,[5] or which can be united, as with Bisṭāmī (d. 874), to one of the beauti-

[1] *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musilmane,* p. 62; cited hereafter as *Essai.*

[2] *Essai,* p. 61.

[3] *Essai,* p. 172. For Diadochus cf. "Les grands courants de la spiritualité oriental" (*Orientalia Christiana Periodica* I, 1935), I. Hausherr, p. 127, and Fr. Dörr, *Diadochus von Photice und die Messalianer,* p. 95.

[4] *Essai,* p. 219; cf. *De Theoria Sancta* of Gregory of Cyprus (ed. and transl., I. Hausherr, in *Orientalia Christiana Analecta,* 110, 1937) p. 110, l.8: "And then with the purity which is from the (service of the) commandments, the soul begins to see the precious forms *(eide)* which are within it and comes to see its own essence" (i.e., the mind's vision of itself).

[5] *Essai,* p. 229; cf. "Le traité de l'oraison d' Evagre le Pontique (Pseudo-Nil)," (*Revue d'ascetique et de la mystique,* XV, Jan. 1934), ed. and transl., I. Hausherr, Numbers 121, 123; also the *Centuries* I, 3; III, 6; *Spirituales Sententiae* XXIV.

ful names of God;[6] and with Junayd (c. 890) the complete mystic returns to his origin by access to the life of his Creator, just as with St. Anthony perfection is the return to our primordial condition, to the state in which we were created;[7] and al-Ḥallāj's man is the image of God's eternal love;[8] and finally with Ibn al-'Arabī, man is the microcosm, the revealed god, both god and the world.[9]

Professor Nyberg believes that the Logos doctrine of the Eastern Church was the source of Ibn al-'Arabī's speculation about the Third Category, the Idea of Ideas, the *Ḥaqīqatu 'l-Ḥaqā'iq,* identified with the Prophet, *al-Ḥaqīqatu 'l-Muḥammadiyyah,* and also with the First Intellect, *al-'aqlu 'l-awwal.*[10] But the conceptions of man's nature and of his place in the universe, which appear in Muslim mystical thought, are also all fore-shadowed and for the most part, explicitly presented in the works of Eastern Christian mystics and especially in those of Evagrius Ponticus, the pupil of Origen and of the two great Cappadocians, Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nyssa, and the chief authority on the ascetic life and mystical doctrine for Nestorian monasticism.

"A pure soul," says Evagrius, "is god after God."[11] "The naked (or pure) mind is that one which is perfect in the vision of itself and is thought worthy of reaching contemplation (or perception) of the Holy Trinity."[12] "The divine mind is one freed from all the movements which have covered the light of the Holy Trinity, which demands from the Father the fulfilment of its insatiable desires."[13] "When the mind is judged worthy of the contemplation of the Holy Trinity, then by grace it is also named god, as having arrived at the resemblance of its Creator."[14] "He who has achieved pure prayer is god by grace."[15] "The true life of the mind is divine contemplation."[16]

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[6] *Essai,* p. 254.

[7] *Essai,* p. 277. For St. Anthony cf. M. Viller, *Spiritualité* etc., p. 51. cf. Gregory's *De Theoria Sancta* as cited note 4. Observe the statement of John of Lycopolis in Cod. Sachau 203, ed. A. Wensinck, XVI, XVII, fol. 115a: "Now it (the soul) is at rest, no longer troubled by conflicting thoughts; but concentrating all its powers on the thought of God, as it did when in its primitive state of purity."

[8] See R. A. Nicholson's *The Mystics of Islam* on al-Ḥallāj; cf. Evagrius, *Centuries,* I, 70; III, 28, 32.

[9] Cf. D. H. S. Nyberg, *Die kleinere Schriften des ibn al-'Arabī,* p. 90 and Nicholson's *Mystics.*

[10] Cf. *Die kleinere Schriften,* pp. 37 and 48. But for Ibn al-'Arabī's theory of the universe cf. also the Valentinian notion that all existence has its origin in the self-limitation of the Infinite.

[11] Capitula XXIV, *Patrologia Graeca,* Migne, 40, 1267/7.

[12] *Century* III, 6; cf. *Century, Suppl.* 4.

[13] *Century, Suppl.* 53.

[14] *Century* V, 81; cf. *Letter* 8 of St. Basil, P.G. 32, 245-268.

[15] *De l'oraison,* ch. 123.

[16] *Century* II, 62.

Only the mind, says Evagrius, is the image of the divine nature. The other creatures are just mirrors in which the operative attributes of God are reflected.[17] But in order to see, the mind must return to its original nature by purification.[18] It must become pure or naked, which is its primordial state; and when it does so, it becomes again the image of God and has only to see itself to see God. The divine light comes to meet it according to the measure of its receptivity; and it is just this very light which makes it truly itself.[19]

"When the minds of the saints receive contemplation (or perception) of themselves," says Isaac of Nineveh, "then the impurity of this corporeal body is abolished and sight is spiritual." Contemplation of themselves "concerns the first creation of their nature" (i.e., the original state of the mind). "From this point it is easy to be moved unto that which is named 'unitary knowledge' " (gnosis monadlike, knowledge of the Essence).[20]

The early generations of Muslim ascetes did not contemplate such a high destiny for man. Their asceticism was religiously motivated and directed by the fear of God and hope in His mercy; and Ḥasan al-Baṣrī would have heartily approved the first paragraph of Isaac of Ninevah's *Treatises,* if ever he had come upon it. "The fear of God," says Isaac there, "is the source of virtue, and virtue is said to be the child of faith. It is sown in the heart, when man gives his mind an opportunity, free from the distractions of this world, to collect its wandering impulses from the illusions of its [worldly] thoughts to [meditate upon] the order of things to come. The first principle in the laying of the foundation of virtue is the concentration of the self, by its withdrawal from [worldly] affairs, upon the enlightened word of the straight and holy paths, the word that is named the teacher (or demonstrator) by the inspired Psalmist."[21]

Ḥasan recommended the fear of God for the same reason as did Isaac and Evagrius; and like them also he established his conduct and doctrine on the renunciation of this transient world and its ephemeral life.[22] "The first impulse that comes upon a man by divine grace," says Isaac, "and which draws the soul toward life, arises in the heart regarding the transitoriness of this nature; and this thought is associated naturally with contempt for this world, whence begin all the virtuous emotions, which guide it towards life."[23] "Be

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[17] *Century* III, 28.32; cf. *Century* I, 70.
[18] *Century* V, 60, 62 and 63; *Suppl.* 4; *Pract.* I, 3.
[19] *Century, Suppl.* 4; *Pract.* I, 3; cf. *Century, Suppl.* 2.
[20] ed. Bedjan. p. 304, ll.15-18, 19-20.
[21] Bedjan, p. 1; cf. *Century* I, 27.
[22] For Ḥasan cf. *Essai,* pp. 168-169.
[23] Bedjan, p. 335, l.2 from below.

dead to the world," he says, again, "that thou mayest be free from laws."[24] "The world is a whore and attracts those who see it through desire of its beauty so that they love it."[25] "Virtue is this, that a man be free from the thought of this world."[26] And like Isaac, Ḥasan also preached self-concentration and constant meditation as chief principles of the pious life. "The light of the soul," says Isaac, "lies in constant meditation upon the Scriptures."[27] "Love poverty with patience that thy mind may be concentrated and not wander."[28]

Ḥasan's piety, based on the fear of God, and his otherworldliness were the dominant features of the Islamic ascetical-mystical movement up to the third century of the Hijrah. Dhu 'l-Nūn, it is true, propounded the thesis of direct dialogue between saints and the divine Essence, which is the definition for prayer given by both St. John Climacus and St. Nil, the latter describing it as "a conversation of the spirit with God."[29] Dhu 'l-Nūn was also the first to enunciate the classification of the mystical states, which Dārānī marshalled into an invariable gradation of graces ornamenting the soul after the manner of St. John Climacus in his *Book of Degrees*.[30] Isaac of Nineveh speaks of a traditional course to the path and likens it to a spiritual chain. Every virtue is the mother of another virtue, and every stage of the path proceeds from the stage preceding it.[31] And 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd discussed tentatively the doctrine of deification, and his companion, Rabī'ah (d. 801), sang of the love of God.[32] But even with al-Muḥāsibī in the third century of the Hijrah the primitive ascetic tradition survives. Man is till an impotent creature, dependent wholly on the grace of God for any good that comes to him and especially for the impulse and power to seek and find his Creator.[33] But by means of a rule of life loyally practised, by acting always for God's sake and taking the Prophet as an example, by scrupulous observance of the divine laws, by a sincere and rigorous self-examination,[34] by recollection and reflection, a pure inten-

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[24] Bedjan, p. 333, l.3.
[25] Bedjan, p. 227, l.1.
[26] Bedjan, p. 2, l.14; cf. p. 2, l.12.
[27] Bedjan, p. 379, ll.17f.
[28] Bedjan, p. 44, l.4.
[29] *Essai,* p. 188; M. Viller, *Spiritualité* etc., pp. 91, 97; I. Hausherr, "Les grands courants" etc., p. 128.
[30] *Essai,* pp. 189, 199.
[31] Bedjan, p. 95, l.9; p. 141, l.3; p. 218, l.11; p. 439, l.11. Observe Anṭākī's notion of a chain of states following a direction prepared by God (*Essai,* p. 203).
[32] *Essai,* pp. 192-193.
[33] *Essai,* pp. 216-222; cf. *Kitāb al-Ri'āya* etc., ed. Margaret Smith (Gibb Memorial, New Series, XV), p. 11, ll.16ff.; cf. Origen's *Contra Cels.* VII, 42; P.G. 11, 1481c.
[34] *Kitāb al-Ri'āya.* p. 12, ll.15ff.

tion and a firm resolution, a man may by the grace of God achieve a succession of virtues, which follow one another in a certain order, be inwardly transformed and even win converse with God.[35]

Al-Muḥāsibī's man may do virtuous works for the love of God and have a hidden treasure in his heart, which may be compared to the Christian mystic's Kingdom of Heaven, that only the pure in heart perceive,[36] but Junayd's man returns to his origin by "a progressive and implacable decortication," "a deprivation of the memory, intelligence and will" and attains annihilation in That One of whom we think.[37] As Evagrius Ponticus says, "The mind cannot see the place of God in itself, unless it rise superior to all thoughts of objects in this world; and it cannot rise superior to them, unless it free itself from the passions, which are attracted to sensible things by the thoughts. It frees itself from the passions by the virtues (i.e., attains impassibility), from simple thoughts (i.e., thoughts devoid of passion) by spiritual contemplation, and from this in turn, when there appears to it that light, which at the time of prayer impresses on it the place of God."[38] The mind, which for Junayd as for Evagrius is the real man, must undergo a series of "decortications," as M. Viller also puts it, or a succession of purifications, before it can see its own proper state and in seeing itself see God. It must become naked, or pure mind. And with Isaac, Junayd describes the mystic union by declaring that the servant is then vis-à-vis God like a marionette, or corpse, and that he has returned finally to his point of departure and has become as he was before he existed."[39] "Blessed is that one who has reached infinite ignorance," says Evagrius.[40]

For al-Ḥallāj, again, as for Gregory of Nyssa man is the image of God, of all His attributes and names, projected by God outside himself in order to speak to it. "Praise be to God who made [His angels] see that His humanity is the mystery of the glory of His effulgent divinity, and who has since shown Himself to His creation under the form of one who eats and drinks."[41] Gregory taught that man was created to be the incarnate likeness of the divine transcend-

[35] Ibid. p. 7, l. 14.

[36] *Essai*, p. 218; cf. Note 4 above.

[37] *Essai*, pp. 276-277.

[38] *Pract.* I, 71, P.G. 40, 1244; cf. *Centuries* II, 49; V, 52, 57, 60, 63; VI, 67; *Pract.* I, 23; II, 48; *Letter* 58.

[39] *Essai*, p. 276; Bedjan, p. 164, ll.14-18; p. 514, l.14—p. 515, l.1.

[40] Century III, 86; cf. 87 and 88; cf. the Dionysian "Darkness." But, as Irénée Hausherr remarks, Dionysius reasons in the desire to pass beyond reason, but Evagrius rejects all ratiocination to free the pure mind which is itself intuitive.

[41] *Ṭawāsin*, ed. and transl., L. Massignon.

ent Power, so that like might be able to see like. The mind, which is the real man, was made in the image of the supremely Beautiful, that by means of that likeness it might be able to apprehend that to which it is like, placing itself like a mirror beneath the purity of God so that it might fashion itself after the archetypal Beauty by its fellowship therein and its vision thereof.[42]

In the light of what has just been set forth, it is possible to presume that the ascetical-mystical movement in Islam moved and had its being, up to the tenth century at least, in the same religious and cultural tradition as did that of Oriental Christian monasticism. The same systems of thought, the same conceptions of God, man and the world and of their inter-relations fashioned the minds of Muslim and Christian alike; and their mystical experiences were similar and are described in much the same language and with the same characteristic metaphors and analogies. The fundamental attitude, for example, of Isaac of Nineveh, a Nestorian mystic of the latter half of the seventh century, to God and the world corresponds closely to that which governed mystical thought in the first three centuries of Islam. For Isaac as for most Muslim mystics God is the one and only reality; and the absolute dependence of the creature on his Creator is the guiding principle of both life and thought.[43] The world is, as al-Harawī observes, a dunghill; and man's chief end in respect of it is to free himself from its perverting attractions.[44] The revealed will of God is man's only guide in this life and his only hope for the future;[45] and his salvation lies in the surrender of all creaturely activity in absolute trust on God[46] *(tūkhlana; tawakkul).*

The ascetical-mystical life is a path *(dūbhra; ṭarīqah),* which consists of various "works" *('amlē; a'māl);* and to perform such a "work" is an "act" *('abhda; 'ibādah).* The most general distinction in respect of the "works" is that between "bodily discipline" *(dūbhra pagranaya; al-a'mālu 'l-ẓāhirah)* and "mental discipline" *(dūbhra dĕ re'yana; al-a'mālu 'l-bāṭinah).* The latter are also named the "work of the heart" *('amla dĕ-lebba; a'māl al-qulūb).* There is also a certain progression among the "works." Some are more pri-

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[42] *De hominis oppificio,* c. VII.

[43] Bedjan, p. 64, ll.12-18; p. 109, ll.13-17; p. 509, l.11. See I. Goldziher's *Vorlesungen über den Islam,* ch. IV, and the *Kitāb al-Luma'*, ed. R. A. Nicholson, p. 11, l.1.

[44] Bedjan, p. 120, ll.5-7; p. 338, l.1; p. 336, l.1; p. 60, ll.7-9; cf. *Kitāb al-Luma'*, p. 26, l.10; p. 47, l.10; p. 72, ll.8, 16; p. 82, l.11.

[45] Bedjan, pp. 441-442; p. 386, l.16—p. 387, l.5; p.l p. 30, ll.15-19; p. 91, ll.5-7; pp. 318-320; p. 511, ll.15ff.; cf. *Kitāb al-Luma'*, p. 62, l.1. See Goldziher's *Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung,* p. 149.

[46] Bedjan, Chapters VII and VIII; pp. 99-110; p. 526. ll.5ff.; cf. *Kitāb al-Luma'*, p. 52, ll.3-18; p. 53, l.15.

mary than the others, and the higher depend upon the lower.[47] Each "work" belongs to a certain degree or station *(měshūḥtha; maqāmah);*[48] certain moods or states *(shūhlapha; aḥwāl)* come upon the mystic without initiative or activity on his part, a feeling of oppression, for example, *(ḥěnūqya dě-naphsha; qabḍ),* or one of expansion *(ashīd-otha; basṭ);*[49] and these states change or alternate.

"Alternating states *(shuḥlaphē)*" says Isaac, "pass over every man, perfect or imperfect, just as changes happen to the atmosphere. There is no stability in life here and now. There are states of intense cold and then of heat, of strife and then of the help of Grace."[50] "Temptations," says Isaac again, "are to be registered as gifts." The temptation is perceived before the gift, but this is done to test the will. The gift is really given before the temptation comes, but man perceives the latter first. In these circumstances joy and fear alternate. In temptations light and darkness are mingled, consolations and adversities, wars and succors. In short, they make narrow *(elaṣ,* cf. Arabic *qabḍ)* or they enlarge *(měrawwaḥ,* cf. Arabic *basṭ).*[51] And chapter XLVIII, page 339, treats of the alternating states, which the soul receives at all times, namely, of light and of darkness.[52]

The chief "corporeal works" mentioned by Isaac are poverty, fasting, solitude, silence and tears.[53] The "works of the heart" discussed by him comprise watchfulness or prudence *(zĕhīrutha; maḥāfaẓah),* and in brief, "divine services," which phrase comprehends such acts as prayer, recitation of the Psalms and meditation upon the Scriptures.[54]

"Be constantly occupied with recitation in solitude," says Isaac, "and thou wilt be drawn toward ecstasy at all times."[55] "Every time that the thought of God is stirred in his spirit," he says again, "the heart will grow hot with love at once, the eyes will shed multitudinous tears; for love is wont to shed tears at the *recollection of the beloved.* He that is in this state will never be found without tears, because he never lacks ample *recollection of God,* so that even when asleep he speaks with Him."[56]

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[47] Bedjan, p. 95, ll.15f.; p. 218, ll.11-12; p. 439, ll.11-16; cf. *Kitāb al-Luma'*, p. 43, l.9; p. 44, l.13; p. 46, l.5; p. 47, l.13; p. 49, l.10; p. 51, l.5; p. 53, l.8.

[48] Bedjan, p. 142, l.16—p. 143, l.15; cf. *Kitāb al-Luma'*, p. 43, l.9.

[49] Bedjan, Chap. XIII, p. 124; Chap. XVII, p. 127; cf. *Kitāb al-Luma'*, p. 46, ll.6ff.

[50] Bedjan, p. 495, l.16—p. 496, l.7 (a citation from Evagrius Ponticus).

[51] Bedjan, p. 298, l.6—p. 300, l.9.

[52] On alternating states cf. *Kitāb al-Luma'*, p. 42, ll.8ff.; p. 343, ll.20ff.; p. 344, ll. 1ff.

[53] Bedjan, Chapters IV, V and XXXV, p. 231, ll.18ff.; p. 234, ll.4ff.; p. 238, ll.13ff.; p. 243; p. 247, ll.1-2; p. 251, ll.17ff.; p. 450, ll.15ff.

[54] Chapters LXV and XXV, p. 254; cf. Chapter LXXX on Vigils.

[55] Bedjan, p. 43, l.21; cf. p. 48, l.21; p. 49, l.3; p. 53, ll.4-6; p. 135, ll.13-17.

[56] Bedjan, p. 261, l.17—p. 262, l.1.

Isaac's "recollection of God," "recitations" and "tears" foreshadow the part played by the *samā'* and the *dhikr* with the Ṣūfīs. The early Muslim doctrine of "blame" *(malāmah)* is also found already fully developed in Isaac;[57] and his term *parēsīya,* "familiarity with God," could also be compared with the Arabic term *al-mu'ānasah,* and his other term *mathīnūtha,* "steadfastness" with the Arabic *al-ṭūma'īnah.*[58]

One aspect of the final phase of the mystical path is common to both Isaac and the orthodox Ṣūfīs; knowledge is then directly from and through God, and the creature is then, in the words of al-Tustarī, in the hands of God as the dead in those of a corpse-washer, who turns him about as he will.[59] In ecstasy the mind is snatched away *(ḫatīpha; ḫatifa).*[60]

It should be observed finally that Nestorian mystics combined in their exposition of the nature and function of the person of Jesus Christ the doctrines of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Origen and the pseudo-Dionysius, the Jesus of the ascetic path being portrayed mostly in Antiochian hues, and the Christ of mystical experiences in Origenistic or Dionysian. For Theodore the Invisible Word, the Only-begotten of the Father, manifested himself in Jesus of Nazareth, dwelling in the man inseparably united to him; and the man, Christ, was thus the visible image of the invisible Godhead. For the Areopagite, again, Christ was a new being altogether, God become man. In one of His hypostases God became truly man, assuming from human nature superhuman nature, standing at the same time above humanity and on the same level with it, doing divine things not as God and human things not as man, but exhibiting to man the new divine-human activity and capacity of God become man.[61] For Origen, as for Evagrius, Christ was the divine mind.[62] Theodore's man was the microcosm, the knot which held the world together. Evagrian and Dionysian man was finally pure mind, or Christ.

Recent studies of the mystical doctrine of the Person of Muḥammad have turned generally to the Gnostic notion of the divine or perfect man for comparison and explanation.[63] But the spread of the Nestorian Church in Persia and Transoxania, and even as far

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[57] Bedjan, p. 77, ll.1-2; p. 85, l.3—p. 86, l.1; p. 142, l.12—p. 143, l.18; p. 356, ll.6-8.

[58] Bedjan, p. 73, ll.2,5,6; p. 516, l.20; *Kitāb al-Luma',* pp. 66-68.

[59] Bedjan, p. 431, ll. 11-12; cf. p. 164, l.16 and p. 514, ll. 10ff.; *Kitāb al-Luma',* p. 41, l.4; cf. p. 29, ll. 7ff.

[60] Bedjan, p. 171, ll.2,5,6; p. 516. l. 20; *Kitāb al-Luma',* pp. 66-68.

[61] *Treatise on Mystical Theology,* XII, 9.

[62] Cf. Letter 61 of Evagrius.

[63] Cf. Tor Andrae, *Die Person Muhammads;* D.H.S.Nyberg, *Die kleinere Schriften* etc.

as China, lends countenance at least to the suggestion that the conceptions of the Person of Christ and of his place and function in the ascetical-mystical life prevalent among Nestorian mystical writers such as Isaac of Nineveh and Dadisho' of Qaṭar may have exercised a decided influence on the development of the conception of Muḥammad as the "Perfect Man" and the "Rector Spiritualis."[64]

For it should not be overlooked that many Persians attained to high rank in the Nestorian Church. Aphraates (c. 337-345) was a Persian. Gregory the Monk (4th century) was born in Susiana. The second metropolitan of Rev Ardashir, Ma'na I, c. 457-485) was born in Shiraz and educated in Edessa. He translated the works of Diodorus and Theodore of Mopsuestia into Syriac and the whole of Syrian Church literature, including Nestorian dogma, into Persian. It is also reported that he translated Syrian sacred poetry into Persian.[65] The Patriarch Mar Abha (520-552), knew Syriac and Persian.[66] Babai the Great (569-628) was a Persian of wealth and property, who had read Persian literature before he came to Nisibis to study medicine. He became third abbot of the Great Convent on Mt. Izla and was the foremost divine and theologian of the Nestorian Church at the crisis of its development. He wrote a commentary on the *Centuries* of Evagrius Ponticus, Rules for Novices and Canons for Monks. Job, the disciple of Abraham of Nethpar (middle of 6th century), was the son of a Persian merchant trafficking in pearls. He translated Abraham's works into Persian. Simon, the metropolitan of Rev Ardashir in the reign of the Patriarch Isho'yahb III (647-658), was a Persian-speaking Christian. The translation of some of his ecclesiastical judgments from Persian into Syriac is recorded in *Cod. Mus. Borh. K.*VI.3, pp. 23-47. John the Seer, who took the name of Ebedyesu', the most celebrated Nestorian mystic of the eighth century, was the son of a Magian. He wrote a commentary on the works of the pseudo-Dionysius. In one of his books he pretends it was not produced in the ordinary manner, but that it was actually composed by the Holy Spirit.[67] In it are three passages, which also appear in the *Treatises* of Isaac of Nineveh in more or less the same language. The Jacobite, Severus Sebokt, also translated from Persian into Syriac a commentary on the *De Interpretatione,* composed by Paul the Persian.[68]

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[64] See Barthold's *Zur Geschichte Christentums in mittel Asien.* Observe the Theodorian idea of Muḥammad as the "Anakephalaiosis" of the race in Tor Andrae's *Die Person Muhammads,* p. 350.

[65] "The Chronicle of Séert" (*Patrologia Orientalis,* Graffin et Nau) VII, 2, 1911; II, 1, pp. 116-117, 155-163.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Cf. *Journal Asiatique,* July-August, 1900, p. 73.

[68] *Le Muséon,* XLIII, 1 and 2, (1930), p. 254; cf. L. Massignon in *Rev. de l'histoire et des Religions,* March-April, 1911, 195-207, on al-Ḥallāj.

Many such as these, and thousands of their humbler fellows, may have brought Persian learning and lore into the Nestorian community, but no trace of their doing so is to be found in their writings, either in style or content. They seem to have discarded their national culture along with their national religion and to have become single-minded exponents of Christianity and of its Hellenistic-Aramaic civilization and thought.

E. Blochet, writing in *Le Muséon,* XXV, declares that "Whether written in Persian or composed in Arabic, the books of Sūfism are works of Iranian thought, and [that] most of the mystics, whose writings belong by language to Arabic literature, such as Suhrawardī, Ghazzālī, al-Jīlī etc., were Persians, born in the old Mazdaean territory of Persia," to which F. Nau would add, "and impregnated with Nestorian literature."

In "La pensée grecque dans le mysticisme Oriental," *(Rev. de l'orient chrétien,* Sér. III, vols. XXVII-XXIX) Blochet has endeavored to prove that the speculations of Muslim mystics were derived from Greek sources; and undoubtedly up to the age of al-Ḥallāj and probably beyond, Islamic mystical literature discovers scarcely a moral precept or a mystical doctrine that is not to be found in the ascetical-mystical works of Oriental Christian mysticism. And one line of this historical development is perfectly plain. Evagrius Ponticus set forth in a lapidary style the stern moral precepts of the Fathers of the Scete desert and the profound spiritual contemplations of Origen and the two great Cappadocians, Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nyssa; and the works of Evagrius became the authoritative exposition, or even manual, of the ascetical-mystical life for Nestorian monasticism, which, in its turn, handed on these precepts and contemplations to the mystics of Islam. The history of the Muslim ascetical-mystical movement from Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, through al-Muḥāsibī to al-Ḥallāj discloses a progressive assimilation of the ethics and doctrines of Oriental Christian mysticism as developed in the works of Nestorian authors. Al-Ghazzālī incorporated Muslim mystical thought rather uncomfortably into Ash'arite theology, but held fast to the immediate facts of moral and religious experience as the primary sources of religious knowledge and truth. Ibn al-'Arabī cut that thought loose from its ethical, social and religious stock and set it in the arid air of theosophy. To have a second renovation it must be planted again, where al-Ghazzālī found it, in moral feeling and religious and social sentiment.

WILLIAM THOMSON

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BOOK REVIEWS

Toward Understanding Islam, Contemporary Apologetic of Islam and Missionary Policy. By Harry Gaylord Dorman, Jr. New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1948. pp. 137. $2.50.

Students of Islamic history and Christian missions to Muslims are indebted to both the young missionary who is author of this volume and to Professor Arthur Jeffery, who suggested the subject for a Ph.D. thesis.

Readers may possibly be confused by the title, since the volume might be described as a brief history of Muslim-Christian polemic, or a review of what has been called "The Great Muhammadan Controversy." The final chapter offers some suggestions on the missionary approach to Muslims as well as certain observations on the relatively few converts from Islam to Christianity.

Following a statement to the effect that Islam and Christianity have been arrayed against each other for thirteen centuries and the contact has been both military and polemic, the author gives a brief account of the latter in the early ages. The chief insight at the beginning is the location of the source of this polemic method in Muhammad himself and the attitude in later suras of the Qur'ān to Jews and Christians. After quotations from the holy book of Islam itself, the author remarks, "The polemic of Islam against Christian teaching has begun. War is declared, and the lines of battle are laid out in the Qur'an itself even before its compilation is complete."

In the following contest with Christian apologists "the political aspect of the situation seems to have overshadowed all else." The Christian replies to Muslims were argument, not preaching and they sought largely for political favor for Christianity, with little idea of the evangelistic note or seeking to convert Muslims to Christian faith. Their desire was rather to preserve the *status quo* than to preach the Gospel to the followers of Islam.

The volume gives a brief and connected review of the disputations of both the early Muhammadan apologists and such notable Christian protagonists as John of Damascus, Abu Qurra and Al-Kindi, then such later contestants as Francis of Assisi, Ricoldus de Monte Crucis—who resided for a decade in Baghdad, and the great missionary pioneer to Muslims, Raymund Lull. We are reminded that the first Protestant apologist against Islam was Theodor Bibliander, successor to Zwingli as professor of theology at Zurich, who wrote in 1543.

Up to the time of the Crusades people in Christendom were for the most part deplorably ignorant concerning Islam. These military campaigns were waged with the unfortunate idea that the Saracens were "more worthy of destruction than conversion." Even after the Crusades each side continued to think of the other as a military aggressor rather than to make a study of the opponent at the cultural or religious level. Such a review of the contacts in the early and mid-

dle ages of Islam is eminently worth-while, yet the following section is no doubt of even greater value.

The modern apologetic has been directed particularly against the Protestant missionary movement. The author takes up twenty-four typical books and pamphlets, some in English but most of them in Arabic. Though these include tracts by Pastor Alfred Nielsen of Jerusalem in which the argument of both Muslim and Christian is given, there is no general attempt to cover Christian apologetic of the modern period. The propaganda of the Ahmadiyya Movement is handled separately. Though this movement has split into two distinct branches, they both adopt much from Christianity and the background of modern thinking in Europe and America. As an example the author quotes the claim of this modern Islamic sect that Muhammad gave the only practical illustration of the doctrine "Love thine enemy." He was one who fought only in defensive wars and when his enemies were defeated he forgave them. Thus the command to love our enemies was, "put into practice once for all, and the world can refer to no such event in its history." The latter is quoted from their own statement.

The final chapter does not by any means give a general plan for Christian missions to Muslims but does have some insights which bear directly on the situation. After the review of the great argument across the centuries, this method is rejected: "The atmosphere of polemic is not a climate in which new points of view can be considered." "The bitter battle of words had already gone far in dividing Islam and Christianity into hostile camps, with mental areas mutually closed to each other, when the Crusades completed the estrangement."

Protestants should emphasize their idea of the primacy of experience over controversy as a missionary method. The polemic attack tends to obscure the active, creative quality of Christian life. There are a number of other suggestions and finally the re-statement of the fact that new terms must be sought which Muslims will understand, to replace many of the Christian language symbols which mean one thing to the believer in Christ and quite another thing to the follower of Islam. The interesting suggestion is made that many of these new terms might be sought in the Sufi writings, as indeed some attempt has been made in various Christian publications like "The Seven Fold Secret."

We should in general favor a much stronger presentation of Christ and His Gospel to Muslims than the author indicates in his last chapter.

The conclusion is worth quoting, "It may be that Muslims will discover that Christ is not a menacing figure who threatens to destroy the customs and ideals and ways of life that they hold most dear, but one who makes possible their unending growth and expansion through an abundantly fresh flowering of individual life and national culture."

J. Christy Wilson

Princeton, N. J.

The Holy Quran with English Translation and Commentary, Volume I. Published under the auspices of Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, Second Successor of the Promised Messiah, by the Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya, Qadian, India, 1947, pp. cclxxvi, 968. India Rs. 30, Foreign £3.

This huge volume, the first of a work which is to comprise three volumes, deals with the first nine suras. The author, while accusing non-Muslim translators of having little or no knowledge of the Arabic language, admits that no adequate translation is possible; so he supplies his commentary to "compensate to some extent for the limitations of the translation."

In the Introduction he argues that Muhammad was the first to address a message to the whole of mankind. He deals with contradictions, savage teaching and irrational teaching in the Old Testament, and with contradictions, superstitions and doubtful ethics in the New Testament. Then, having disposed of these books as untrustworthy, he occupies thirty-two pages in showing how they contain many prophecies of Muhammad's coming. A lengthy biography of Muhammad is given, and the compilation of the Qur'ān is discussed. The author argues that Muhammad himself arranged the Qur'ān in its present order, and holds that the arrangement "reveals a continuity of topics and subject-matter." A brief account of the Ahmadiya Movement is given, in which the author, who is the son of Ghulam Ahmad, tells how he became the second Khalīfa in 1914, and has been supported by God in his task. One result is that "the Quran, which has become like a closed book in the hands of the Muslims, has again been made an open book for us by God through the blessings of the Holy Prophet and the instrumentality of the Promised Messiah." He says, "Whenever any teaching or doctrine contained in the Quran is made the target of criticism on the basis of some new scientific development, God reveals to me the true answer contained in the Quran." So sure is he of divine guidance that he says, "The world would be materially assisted in its search for truth if Christians could persuade the Pope or other high Church dignitaries to put forward the revelations received by them as against those received by me for the purpose of determining which of them are true manifestations of God's power and knowledge."

The text of the Qur'ān is well printed. The only error I have noticed is the intrusion of the word *lā* in ii, 166. The author considers that the *Bismillah* is a verse, not only at the beginning of the *Fātiḥa,* but at the beginning of other suras as well, so he has a numbering of verses all his own. In this review quotations are made according to his numbering.

Each sura is preceded by a brief introduction. The translation as a whole is good and reads well, but there are some peculiarities. The verb *aḍalla,* when used of Allah, is never translated as "to lead astray." The author turns it as "to adjudge to be erring," "to adjudge astray," "to let go astray," and "to cause to perish." In vii, 158 f. *al-nabī al-ummī* is translated "the Prophet, the Immaculate One," whereas *ummīyūn* is translated "illiterate," or "unlearned" in ii, 79, iii, 21, 76. The author does not allow "devils" as a translation of *shayāṭīn.* It appears as "ringleaders" in ii, 15, "rebellious men" in ii, 103, and "evil ones" in vi, 122, vii, 31. His

view that the Qur'ān does not teach that hell is eternal leads him into translating *abadan* as "for a long, long period;" but in iv, 123, ix, 22 which refer to Paradise, he translates *abadan* as "for ever." The unusual translation of iv, 158 merits quotation: "And their saying, 'We did kill the Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary, the Messenger of Allah;' whereas they slew him not, nor crucified him, but he was made to appear to them like *one crucified*; and those who differ therein are certainly in a *state of* doubt about it: they have no *definite* knowledge thereof, but only follow a conjecture; and they did not convert this *conjecture* into a certainty." In iv, 172, where *kalimatuhu* and *rūḥ* are used of Jesus, the former is translated "a *fulfilment of* His word," and the latter "a mercy." In ii, 249 he translates *tābūt* as "heart," deciding that this, and not "ark" or "chest," is the Quranic meaning of the word. In ii, 256 *kursī* is translated "knowledge." *Ṭāghūt* appears as "those who transgress" in ii, 257, iv, 52; "the rebellious" in iv, 61; and "the Evil One" in iv, 77.

The author provides notes on important words as well as commentary, but these notes often contain much irrelevant material, as all the possible meanings are usually mentioned. He frequently discusses derivations, but in these he should be followed with caution, as his derivations are liable to be determined by the light of intuition rather than by any scientific principle. In the commentary allegorical interpretation is characteristic. Ahmadiya beliefs often appear, occasionally in connection with passages which seem unconnected with them. Here and there the commentator becomes almost lyrical in speaking of the beauty of the Quranic teaching. He shows a strange mixture of thought in the way in which he can use critical and scientific jargon at one moment, and put forward uncritical and unscientific ideas at another. He is greatly lacking in a historical sense. The work is clearly a labor of love.

JAMES ROBSON

Glasgow University

The Capture of Damietta. By Oliver of Paderborn. Translated by John J. Gavigan. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1948. pp. xii, 112.

The choice of Oliver of Paderborn's history of the Fifth Crusade for translation in the Philadelphia series may seem at first sight a little surprising. The reasons for the selection are set out by Professor La Monte in his foreword: firstly, that the Fifth Crusade is a little-known episode in mediaeval history and Oliver's narrative is the most detailed first-hand source; and secondly, that it offers "a window into the mind and soul of the thirteenth-century crusader." The second reason is possibly open to question, since Oliver's point of view is that of an influential cleric, and his fervency was by no means shared, as he shows, among large sections of the fighting troops. Since, however, the other sources are mostly on the opposite side, his stout support of Cardinal Pelagius has its value for the assessment of contemporary opinion, while his attitude and comments about Muslim personalities and affairs have a special interest

for students of Western relations with Islam. As an eye-witness he presents graphic accounts of the struggle for the city, of the disastrous march inland, and of relations between the component sections of the Crusading forces; and if he omits some material particulars, he compensates for them by an abundance of hortatory and pious reflections. The translation is clear and accurate, and the annotation is particularly good on personal names and ecclesiastical references.

H. A. R. Gibb

Oxford University

I Myrtentradgarden (In the Myrtle Garden). By Tor Andrae. Stockholm, Bonniers Förlag, 1947. pp. 196, Pris Sv. Kr. 9:50.

The late bishop of Lidköping, and erstwhile professor of the history of religion at Upsala University, was long a profound student of Islamic mysticism. His best-known work, *Mohammed, the Man and his Faith,* N.Y. 1936, revealed a deep insight into, and appreciation of, the religion of the prophet. This work also exists in French and German editions, indicative of its importance. The manuscript of the present work was at the printer's at the time of Tor Andrae's death, and his former student, Professor George Widengren, saw the book through the press. The reviewer, at the time in Sweden, remembers the Christmas broadcast by Tor Andrae from Lidköping in 1947. The forceful and convincing sermon which he delivered might well be epitomized in the words of his teacher, Nathan Söderblom, quoted in the present work (p. 16): "I know that God exists; I can prove it through the history of religion."

The first contact which Tor Andrae made with Sufism, he tells us, was with the work of al-Yāfi'ī (d. 1367), entitled *Rauḍ ar-rayāḥīn fī manāqib* (Brockelmann: *ḥikāyāt*) *aṣ-ṣāliḥīn,* roughly "A myrtle-tree garden *re* the virtues of the pious." The stories he found there induced him to go further into the study of Islamic mysticism. This book (*I Myrtenträdgarden*) represents his last thoughts on the subject and is well worthy of one's attention.

The first chapter "Islam and Christendom," contains a wealth of stories and observations on the close relations between the Christian ascetics and the Muslim conquerors. The whole problem of the relation of the Sufis to the early Christian mystics is highly complicated, and has not been solved by the extensive researches of Massignon. The regard and friendship which many Muslims showed to the Christian monks is revealed in many sources. Stories of the life of Jesus made an impression on the early Sufis, so much that, more than any other figure, Jesus comes to represent the *insān al-kāmil* for them. Thus, we find two figures of Jesus in Islam: Jesus of the New Testament tradition, and Jesus, first among the ascetics and mystics. Andrae shows that the Muslim mystics were, on the whole, well acquainted with the sayings of Jesus. Unfortunately, this almost idyllic situation, with the interchange of religious experiences between Muslims and Christians, did not last long, for organized religion, both in Baghdad and in Byzantium,

began to heed the voices of the fanatics. Tolerance was replaced by intolerance.

In chapter two, on asceticism, the author examines the reasons for the development of asceticism in Islam. Parallels with Christianity are presented, and Andrae proposes a number of motives for the ascetic's approach to religion. The first he calls the "religious motive," which is based on an interpretation of the holy books, the Gospels and the Qur'ān—on a desire to obtain a greater, closer relationship with God. The motive of the Neoplatonists and the Christian monks was based on the "metaphysical dualism" of body and spirit. The former had to be subdued, and even crushed, so the spirit could grow. Then, first among the Stoics, we find the philosophical-moral motive, which the author calls the "ascetic motive." This is the deliberate inflicting of pain on one's person in order to gain some new insight into the spirit; a belief that hidden powers and energies could be roused by physical torture. In addition, Andrae discusses the "motive of observance," or ritual—the reasons for the development of sects of ascetics with strict rules and practices. This last played an important role with the Muslim mystics, for Islam itself emphasized the strict observance of rules. Many Sufis, like the Indian faqirs, developed their asceticism into a regular art, but the main trend of Sufism was in opposition to the torture of the flesh. It was rather towards freedom from the bonds of formal Islam which restrained one from a higher, truer knowledge of God. Psychological factors relevant to the adoption of asceticism, either by an individual or by a group, have not been investigated as much as they should. Much might be explained by them.

Chapter three is entitled "Solitude and Community. The Pious and the Worldly." The author contrasts the somewhat romantic, asocial attitude of the early ascetics with the worldliness of later Sufis. By worldliness Andrae does not mean indulgence or luxury, but rather a willingness to live with the rest of society, albeit frequently in a communistic group with other Sufis. Of all the well-known Sufis, the one who most nearly approached the "Franciscan ideal" was Ibrahim ibn Adham from Khurasan. The author deals with this personality at some length to show that the Sufis, on the whole, were not antisocial, but that there did exist a conflict between the desire for solitude and also for integration in the community.

The chapter on the "inner life" describes the path which the mystic must follow from the time of his apprenticeship to a master till the end is reached. That end is union with God. To attain that end, however, a long discipline is necessary and many pitfalls prepared by the devil must be avoided. Iblis is ever ready to upset one's plans and the way of a Sufi is narrow indeed.

The final chapter, entitled "Trust in God and Love of God," is concerned with the end of the Sufi's path. The implications of fatalism and the tendency towards pantheism are discussed. A comparison of the concept of *fanā'* and the Buddhist *nirvana* brings the book to a close.

The most interesting part of this story of Sufism is the account of its origins and relations with Christianity. Tor Andrae has gone

further than his predecessors in showing the close relationships between the two. There is a mine of information, new ideas, and stories from unpublished sources, in this book, and it deserves to be translated into English. Professor Massignon is at present engaged on a French translation. What has been mentioned here is the scantest of outlines of the contents of the work, and, as the Muslim authors say, "it is in brief and not all."

RICHARD N. FRYE

Harvard University

Manhaj As-Salik: Abu Hayyan's Commentary on the Alfiyya of Ibn Malik. Edited with and Introduction by Sidney Glazer. New Haven, American Oriental Society. American Oriental Series, Volume 31, 1947. pp. xlix, 493.

In his Inaugural Lecture at Leiden in 1940, *De Taal van den Koran,* Dr. J. H. Kramers drew particular attention to the importance of the study of Arabic Grammar for all branches of Islamic study, and that is sufficient justification for noticing in our QUARTERLY this bulky and severely technical treatise on the Grammar of Arabic.

The Andalusan savant Abū Ḥayyān (1256-1344 A.D.) deserves to be better known among us. His fame today rests almost exclusively on his great Qur'ān Commentary *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ* published in 8 vols. at Cairo in 1328 A.H. (1910 A.D.) at the expense of the Sultan of Morocco, a Commentary which is remarkable for the independence of judgment shown by its author, and for the freedom with which he quotes uncanonical textual variants. In his own day, however, his fame was as a grammarian, among whose pupils were both Ibn 'Aqīl and Ibn Hishām, authors whose works on grammatical science are still widely read by Muslim students in the schools of the Near East. What drew students to his lectures in his own day was the fact that he was the outstanding expositor of Sībawaihi, and that in his lectures he undertook to make available the older grammatical lore, to "unlock" the locks in the popular *Alfiyya* of his predecessor Ibn Mālik. What interests us today is rather that he is unique among Arab grammarians in two respects: firstly, in that his linguistic interests were wider than Arabic, so he had mastered Turkish, Ethiopic and Persian, and had even written grammars of these languages; secondly, that he had grasped the essential principle of descriptive grammar and insisted that frequency of occurrence in actual speech rather than *a priori* theory should be the determining factor in establishing a grammatical rule.

It is curious that his *Manhaj* has remained unedited till now, and even then had to wait the attention of a Western scholar. Perhaps one reason was that it was an incomplete work. At least no MSS. are known which contain more than this first part of the work. Perhaps it was because in his work he deals so harshly, and at times unjustly, with his predecessor Ibn Mālik. The continued popularity of the *Alfiyya* would doubtless work against the publication of a work which attacked it so savagely. Perhaps his Zāhirite connections were held against him.

Ibn Mālik in his famous *Alfiyya* had succeeded by a *tour de force* in digesting all the essential rules of Arabic Grammar into a *rejez*

poem of a thousand verses, a jerky, jingly composition, reminiscent of the jingles schoolboys used to learn in Latin class—

> Pone, penes, prope, per,
> Post, trans and all in -a and -ter.
> To these if motion you intend
> Sub, super, in you should append.

By the very nature of his verse medium Ibn Mālik's statement of the grammatical rules was bound to be full of obscurities and uncertainties, and though the Western student is often astonished to admiration at the ingenuity with which the author squeezes quantities of varied grammatical information into a few lines of stilted verse, he also understands how dependent even students whose native tongue is Arabic must necessarily be on such Commentaries to the *Alfiyya* as the popular Ibn 'Aqīl, or that of al-Ushmūnī supplied with the super-Commentary of aṣ-Ṣabbān.

The *Manhaj* of Abū Ḥayyān is in the nature of a Commentary on the *Alfiyya,* and in the form in which it is given in the surviving MSS. would seem to have been his class notes for his courses in Grammar. It follows the verses of the *Alfiyya,* correcting, expounding, explaining, and illustrating. Practically everything in the still popular *Sharḥ* of Ibn 'Aqīl on the relevant verses is to be found here, so that he was obviously using his master's class notes as the basis of his own work. The master's work, however, is very much richer than that of his pupils, and to us is of particular value in that on a great many disputed points of grammar he discusses variant opinions and in so doing opens up to us some perspective as to the historical development of Arabic grammatical science.

Dr. Glazer has provided his text with an excellent Introduction and admirable Indices. The costs of printing so large a volume in Arabic type, which in the nature of the case demanded considerable use of vowelling and other orthographic signs, made it necessary to produce the work by offset process, for which the text was prepared on the electric Varityper. This produces a text which demands a little patience on the part of the reader till he becomes accustomed to it, though that is less awkward than the fact that the pagination has been made to run in the direction customary in our Western books and not in the reverse direction which is natural in an Arabic book. As a pioneer work in this type of production, however, it is a remarkably successful one. Dr. Glazer expresses his admiration for and gratitude to the technicians who so successfully grappled with the problems of production. We must express an even deeper sense of admiration for and gratitude to Dr. Glazer for his accurate and painstaking labors in making available so important a contribution to the historical study of Arabic Grammar.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Balkanturkische Studien. Von Herbert W. Duda, mit 12 Tafeln und 11 Abbildungen im Text. Wien, Osterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sitzungsberichte, 226. Bd. 1. In Kommission bei Rudolf M. Rohrer. 1949. pp. 144.

It is perhaps natural that students of Islamic history should for the most part be interested in Islam in Asia and in Africa, and even

when thinking of Islam in Europe seldom think beyond Turkey and the "Moors" in Spain. There is considerable material of interest, however, in the history of the smaller Muslim communities in Eastern Europe, a fact which is abundantly illustrated by this work by Dr. Duda, containing three studies concerned with the Muslims of Bulgaria.

They are the fruit of a brief stay in the Balkans during the War years, a stay which, in spite of the difficulties of the War, he sought to utilize as far as possible for the profit of peaceful scholarship.

The first study is on "Üsküb in the Seventeenth Century." Üsküb is the Turkish name for the town better known to us as Skoplje, the place which Milutin, King of Serbia, made his capital, and where Stephen Dushan was crowned in 1346. It is the Skopie where in 1004 Romanus, the last scion of the Bulgar House of Krum, had to hand over the keys to the victorious Emperor Basil, and it is the Scupi which we read of being rebuilt by Justinian after it had been destroyed by an earthquake in 518. Its name doubtless derives from this ancient Scupi the ruins of which are in the neighborhood of the modern town. Even to our day it has continued to be an important center of the Orthodox Church. In the XVIIth Century it was a Muslim center of no little importance, and from an examination of the present buildings on Muslim sites in connection with the long account given of the place by the traveller Evlia Chelebi in the fifth volume of his *Siyāḥatname,* Dr. Duda has endeavored to picture to us the town as it was in the days of its fame.

The second study is of the Mosque and Madrassah of the Sharīf Khalīl Pasha in Schumen in northern Bulgaria. The third deals with the little known titles of "Dželepi" and "Beglikčii" which were in use under the Ottomans for the officials concerned with the taxation levied on sheep, which were the basis of the local economy. In Appendices he gives us the building inscription on the Sharīf Khalīl Pasha mosque, a facsimile of the beautifully written foundation deed, and the text of the Firmān of the Sulṭān Maḥmūd II, dated 14th Jumādā I, 1240 A.H.

The study is fully indexed and has twelve pages of photographs gathered at the end as well as plans inserted in the text itself.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Gonzalo de Argote y de Molina's **Discurso Sobre La Poesia Castellana** contenida en este Libro [i.e. El Libro de Patronio o El Conde Lucanor] and Bartholomaeus Gjorgjevic. By A. R. Nykl. Baltimore, 1948.

The chief interest of this Essay is for students of Spanish history and literature, but since it contains a discussion of some verses in Turkish and in Arabic as quoted by Argote y de Molina, the former from the work of one Bartholomew Georgewitz, a Hungarian who lived for thirteen years as a slave in Turkey during the early years of the XVIth Century, and the latter taken down from the popular singing of the Moriscos in Granada, it should be called to the attention of readers of our QUARTERLY. Dr. Nykl assembles the available historical and bibliographical information relevant to the pieces he is discussing and offers a modern transliteration and translation of

both. One wonders whether in the popular Arabic verses anent the one-eyed man which he quotes on the last page may not contain a reminiscence of the legend of al-Dajjāl, who in one aspect incarnates the Antichrist, and in another incarnates Iblīs, for he is the *a'war* who appears in the guise of a *walī*, who has already caused *fasād* in the heavens and will cause *kharāb* on the earth.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Syria: Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909; Division IV: Semitic Inscriptions; Section D: Arabic Inscriptions. By Enno Littmann. Leyden, 1949. pp. xiv, 105.

The author states in his Preface: "The Arabic inscriptions published in this Section were copied in 1904-5, mostly by the editor. . . . Some of the inscriptions of this volume have been published before: this has been stated, wherever it is the case, under the respective numbers. . . . With the issue of this Section of the Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909 are now complete. . . . The printing of this section has been delayed by the war and its consequences for several years."

Despite all these difficulties the printer has produced a faultless volume with but a few minor misprints: Introductory; Almighty (p. 46); death (p. 84). As regards *ḥuḍira,* on tombstones it has the meaning given by Lane I, 588: 'he was visited by the angel of death', i.e., *died.* On p. 40: *Djâwlī* means 'a young falcon': cf. A. C. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire Turc-Français,* Paris, 1881, I, 574; Sir James W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon,* Constantinople, 1890, p. 711.

We congratulate the indefatigable scholar of Tübingen for having brought this splendid work to a successful conclusion. There are altogether 138 inscriptions of various sizes and types, from Southern and Northern Syria; many of them from the Aiyūbid and Mamlūk periods, hence of interest to the students of the Crusades. An excellent Index is appended to the text.

A. R. NYKL

Cambridge, Mass.

Mohammed Asafi, The Story of Jamal and Jalal, an illuminated manuscript in the Library of Uppsala University. By K. V. Zetterstéen and C. J. Lamm: Uppsala, 1948. 32 pages of Introduction, and 36 plates, four in colors. Price, 25 Sw. crowns.

The Prefatory Note states: "Among the Persian Manuscripts preserved in the Library of Uppsala University there is an illuminated copy of Moḥammed Āṣafī, *Dāstān Jamāl wa Jalāl, The Story of Jamāl and Jalāl,* which seems unique. This manuscript, according to Tornberg, *Codices Arabici, Persici et Turcici Bibliothecae Reg. Univ. Upsal.,* p. IX, a "codex, quo nullum possidet haec collectio elegantiorem", was in 1839 presented to the Library by Count C. G. Löwenhielm, who had been resident minister in Constantinople, and is numbered in the Catalogue CLXXI Bibliotheca Nova 2.

"On account of its artistic value it has been exhibited in Gothen-

burg (1928), in Copenhagen (1929), in London (1931), and in Stockholm (1939). In the following pages a detailed description of this beautiful work will be given, each of us assuming the responsibility for his contribution only, Zetterstéen for the philological details and Lamm for the analyses of the miniatures."

The Introduction informs us: "Āṣafī, a native of Baihaḳ in Khorāsān, was the son of Muḳīmu-d-dīn Ni'matullāh Kūhistānī, who had been Prime Minister to the celebrated Sultan Abū Sa'īd. Moreover, Āṣafī was a pupil of Jāmī, the last great poet and mystic of Persia, and a personal friend of Mīr 'Alī Shīr, the eminent and accomplished favourite of Sultan Ḥusain Mīrzā, who reigned over Khorāsān 873-911 A.H. (1469-1506 A.D.) and was a great promoter of science and patron of arts.

"According to some, Āṣafī died at the age of seventy on the 16th of Sha'bān 923 A.H. (September 3, 1517 A.D.), but others give 920 A.H. (beg. on February 26, 1514 A.D.) or 926 (beg. on December 23, 1519 A.D.) or 928 (beg. on December 1, 1521 A.D.) as the date of his death. Moreover, in one biography he is said to have reached the age of more than seventy years."

In the Introduction several passages of the text, including the ending, are printed in Persian with a translation into English by Zetterstéen, and a summary of the 110 folios given. There are some lacunae and transpositions in the manuscript.

From the contents of the miniature on fol. 2b, which is reproduced on Plate 1, we see that the Shāh had told his five ministers seated round him like five stars, of a dream he had had on the night previous. He wishes to have their interpretation of the dream, and they all swear that God will bestow a son on him. That very night the Shāh's favorite wife conceives a son, to whom at birth the name Jalāl is given:

Ghunče dar djaib sarw shud madfūn
Tā dar āward ō z luṭf berūn

"A rose bud was buried in the bosom of a cypress, in order to bring him (i.e., Jalāl) forth gently."

A complete translation of these selections would be helpful to art students who are unable to read Persian, because Zetterstéen's summaries are necessarily very brief, and hence do not convey a clear idea of the poet's simple and pleasing style.

A. R. Nykl

Adat Law in Indonesia. By B. ter Haar. Translated from the Dutch. Edited with an introduction by E. Adamson Hoebel, Associate Professor of Anthropology, New York University and A. Arthur Schiller, Associate Professor of Law, Columbia University.

Issued in cooperation with the Southeast Asia Institute, the Netherlands Information Bureau and by funds granted by the Coolidge Foundation. Institute of Pacific Relations, 1 E. 54th Street, New York City. pp. 225, $4.00.

This publication is a translation of the major part of the book bearing the title *Beginselen en Stelsel van het Adatrecht* by the Dutch jurist B. ter Haar and published in 1939. This English transla-

tion is now offered to the public as an authoritative study of the laws of the native peoples of Indonesia.

Both geographically and ethnologically speaking Indonesia should include not only the Netherlands East Indies, but also the Philippines, British Borneo, and Portuguese Timor, since the indigenous people of this area share for the most part a common history with people of the Malay Peninsula. Now, however, the name Indonesia carries definite political significance since it was adopted by the nationalist subjects of the Netherlands to denote the self-governing state which they hope to create.

While the author of this work was concerned primarily with the *adat* law of the Netherlands East Indies he was well aware of the close connection of the native customs in that area with the beliefs and traditions prevailing in the other parts of the archipelago.

The word *adat* is an Arabic expression meaning custom, popular practice or tradition. The native *adat* covers a wide range of practices from superstitious magic at one extreme to the legal and religious practices of the people at the other. This book deals with those forms of "adat that have legal consequences" although many of these customs *(adats)* may include some elements of superstition or religious practice.

Since the people of Indonesia are now on the brink of making a transition from the more primitive forms of government into the more complex patterns of the modern democratic system of government the question naturally arises as to the extent to which the formation of national government and the growth of nationalist attitudes in the western Pacific and in Southeast Asia will effect the relative status of Eastern and Western law.

Though deeply rooted in traditional culture the Indonesian *adat* expresses universal values. In the study of this *adat* one may gain an insight into the growth of law and the richness which its development can attain among a simple people subject to the natural forces of a tropical environment. A study of this book is well worth while if one would understand the cultural background of the Indonesians and wishes to find ways of political cooperation.

The author states that the book has been written for beginners in the study of *adat* law, particularly for students of the Law College in Batavia, Java. It is expected that the book will give a general idea of native legal customs which can make the study of the positive *adat* law of a particular law-area more frutiful and will give the field workers the general frame work of the *adat* law with which they have to deal in the course of their legal practice.

One might think that a book on law would not be particularly interesting to the average reader, but in this case the author has woven interesting details around each *adat* so that one finds not a skeleton of rules, but a body of living interest which holds his attention to the end.

When reading the book one becomes aware of the fact that the translators have provided a text which is well written and which helps the reader to feel the spirit of the Orient in which the Indonesian *adat* have their setting.

RAYMOND L. ARCHER

New York City

Iran Past and Present. By Donald N. Wilber. Princeton, New Jersey; Princeton University Press, 1948. pp. 234, 17 illustrations and map. $3.00.

During the most critical days of World War II the attention of the whole world was focused on Iran. It was through the facilities placed at the disposal of the Allies by Iran that the Soviet Union was able to receive most of her supplies and to defend herself against the Nazi onslaught. General Connolly's Persian Gulf Command served for more than two years in southern Iran, hauling American supplies to the Russians and working miracles of technology. Americans in Iran who came into close contact with the Iranians were fascinated by their ancient history and culture and marveled at their art and craftsmanship. Iranians on the other hand were impressed by American ingenuity and resourcefulness and admired their technical abilities.

Since the conclusion of the war several books of general background and interpretative material on Iran have appeared in this country. Mr. Wilber's book is a welcome addition to these studies.

The first part of the book is a brief resumé of the whole period of history from prehistoric Iran to the advent of Reza Khan in February, 1921. To summarize two thousand five hundred years of recorded history in less than one hundred pages is an ambitious undertaking. For a work of this nature Mr. Wilber's selection of material is generally commendable; its proportions are commensurate with the importance of events to Iranian national life. But there is some lack of luster in the manner in which the material is presented. The wealth of color and excitement inherent in the chronicles of these centuries remains largely unexploited, and for a book apparently designed for a popular audience there seems to be undue insistance upon names that twist the tongue and dates that tax the memory. A more connected and humanized narrative that would attract the attention and hold the layman's interest would have served the purpose better.

This purpose obviously is to provide the reader with a reasonably adequate introduction to the history and culture of Iran. In his preface Mr. Wilbur announces that "the author has tried to present Iran from the Iranian viewpoint and . . . has avoided judgments based upon alien western standards." The bulk of the book is indeed an interpretation of data taken from Iranian sources.

The chapter on "The Character of Iranian Culture" is the most valuable portion of the book. Here Mr. Wilber makes a real contribution to the understanding of the culture of Iran, with some phases of which he is personally familiar. He gives the reader a good analysis by tracing the philosophical, literary, and artistic production in Iran. It could almost be said that this chapter alone serves well the author's purpose.

However, various unfortunate discrepancies elsewhere in the work must be pointed out. It is a well known fact that Greek historians from Herodotus down to the contemporaries of Alexander the Great have recorded exaggerated views of the Persian campaigns against Greece. Mr. Wilber, caught in this trend, states that Xerxes led a force of 900,000 men against the Greeks (page 21). There seems to be a mathematical error here, for after discussing the organization

of the Achaemenid army he gives us the following analysis of it: "the army was divided into six corps of 60,000 each, each corps composed of 10,000 men, etc." (page 22). Obviously this does not add up to 900,000 given on the previous page. A similar mathematical discrepancy sifts into the treatment of the battle of Arbela where Alexander's army is said to have been composed of 35,000 men and that of Darius III was "at least twenty times as large" (page 27). Another point calls for mention. Zend and Avestan are not one and the same thing. Avestan is the language of the Avesta, the sacred book of the Zoroastrians, whereas Zend, which means commentary or interpretation, is the translation and exposition of a great portion of the Avesta in the Pahlavi language.

The second part of the book is devoted to Modern Iran. It gives a brief historical account of the Pahlavi period, i.e., from the coup d'état of Reza Khan until the present day. This is followed by chapters of description of the natural resources, the industry, the trade and transportation, the government, and the people of Iran. This part, although informative, tends to be sketchy and weak. Political events are paraded in a short space, but no objective interpretation of the forces in operation in Iran is given. Mention is made for example, of the monopolies established by the Iranian government, but the underlying causes for their establishment—that the monopolies had to be established in order to combat the Russian system of import and export trade—are not explained. The Bahrain question is touched upon briefly without developing the Iranian viewpoint on this vital issue. The dispute between the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the Iranian government could have been discussed more fully and reasons for disagreement explained from the point of view of Iran.

Certain criticisms from a purely technical point must be brought up. It is to be regretted, for example, that rather numerous errors of transliteration from the Arabic and Persian have crept into the text which might have been avoided by more careful examination of the original material. And although the bibliography of source material is impressive, certain fundamental works in English such as: E. G. Browne's *A Literary History of Persia,* Olmstead's *History of the Persian Empire,* Herzfeld's *Archaeological History of Iran,* and others are surprisingly absent. The inclusion of these books in the bibliography would have been valuable to English readers who might be interested in corollary treatment of the subject.

In spite of certain undeniable shortcomings Mr. Wilber's handsomely presented work will serve as a valuable guide to the student and layman alike.

Mehmed A. Simsar

New York City

CURRENT TOPICS

Adult Education

Mr. K. G. Saiyidain has a splendid short article in *The Hindustan Review* for December 1948, from which the following paragraphs are quoted by permission:

"The advent of political freedom and democratic institutions in our country (India) finds us unprepared, morally and mentally to shoulder the great new responsibilities which it has brought in its train. In order to gain political influence and power, unscrupulous persons as well as good ones have to seek the votes of the "masses". Now, there are two ways in which these votes can be won—either through devoted and unostentatious service which seeks to raise their material and cultural standards or through the exploitation of their ignorance and the prejudices which are often associated with it. The first is a difficult and uphill path which is chosen only by persons of high moral calibre, those who are anxious to give and not to grab. The latter is the easy and downhill path where one can count on the demoralising help of the downward momentum. In a democracy these two types are always in conflict and its ultimate fate depends largely on which of them is able to triumph and gain the confidence and support of the people.

"The most urgent task of Adult education today, therefore, is not teaching people to read and write or to add to their knowledge or even to improve their general efficiency—important as all these objectives are—but to concentrate on their social and moral re-education and to reassert the primacy of those moral and spiritual values which ultimately give meaning to life. No nation can survive for long, either physically or morally, if its conscience, its sense of right or wrong, its capacity for impartial judgment becomes atrophied.

"No community of persons however ignorant and oppressed by the burden of making a living, will reject persistently all attempts to bring a little light and joy and good fellowship into their lives. They would welcome the chance to sit and smoke together in the evenings, to sing songs, to stage little plays and to hear folk-tales, bhajans and religious poetry. Why not then make a start in that way and provide, to begin with, just a pleasant meeting ground for villagers where they can gradually contribute to their own amusement and relaxation? With this beginning, it is not at all unlikely that some of those who assemble there may talk about their common problems and discuss their common needs and difficulties. This would provide an excellent starting point for the formation of "discussion groups" and gradually pave the way for "courses" of talks and lectures on subjects of general interest and usefulness to the members. If the educational worker in charge of the centre has the gift of leadership and some understanding of adult psychology

he may be able to make it into a living forum for the expression and exchange of ideas and for broadening their interest in current affairs."

The Meaning of *ARAB* in Ethiopia

It is known that in the Near Eastern world (Persia, Turkey, and various Arab countries) the word *frenǧi*,[1] under its various forms, came to be synonymous with "European, foreigner, clever person, refined object, or any extraordinary object, plant, or fruit."[2] In Ethiopia, too, *(ĕ)frĕnǧ* has some of these meanings, as for instance *afrĕnǧi* which designates a kind of sword in Tigré,[3] and *färänǧ, fĕrĕnǧ, afrĕnǧ* which has the meaning of "European" all over Ethiopia.[4] However, the foreigners with whom the Ethiopians were in contact were the Arabs rather than the Europeans. With the exception of the small interlude in the 16th century when the Portuguese came to Ethiopia to deliver the country from the Arab invaders, no continuous contact was established between the Ethiopians and the Europeans in the past centuries. The foreigners who uninterruptedly came to Ethiopia were the Arabs. The latter were especially active in commerce. As a result, *arab* in Ethiopia designates a foreign or imported object, although it never seems to refer to a foreign person. Thus the word has, at least partly, taken over the role of *frenǧi* in the Near East. Some illustrations of this particular meaning of *arab* can be given from Amharic, the national language of Ethiopia, and from Harari (properly called *adare*).[5] Thus in Amharic, *aräb* means "steel, iron, imported leather articles"; *aräb bĕrät* or *yaräb bĕrät* designates a better quality of iron, or a sword of European production. Several other expressions involve *aräb,* such as *yäfĕyäl aräb* "goat's hide" (it is used for books); *yäbäre aräb* "ox hide" (used for the straps of the native bed). The noun has even given rise to a denominative verb *arräbä* "tan hides, morocco."

The Amharic letters added to the alphabet of old Ethiopic, such

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[1] *Frengi* reflects, according to some scholars, the word for "French," according to others the word for "Frank."

[2] E. Littmann, "Fränkisch," in *Aufsätze zur Kultur- und Sprachgeschichte vornehmlich des Orients, Ernst Kuhn zum 70. Geburtstage,* München, 1916, p. 236-243; "Weiteres uber Fränkisch", in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* 4 (1926). 262-265.

[3] A description of the sword *afrĕngi* is found in E. Littmann, *Publications of the Princeton Expedition to Abyssinia* 2, p. 206.

[4] I have some doubts about the connection of the Amharic *afrĕng* "red pepper" with *ĕfrĕng* "European" as proposed by Littmann, "Fränkisch," p. 242. In fact, "red pepper" is *ĕfrĕng* in Amharic, but *afrĕnga* in the Gurage dialect of Selti, and *afingä* (without *r*) in the Gurage dialects of Chaha and Muher. I wonder, therefore, whether the original form would not be *afingä,* and the forms with *r,* like Amharic and Selti, would then be modifications by analogy with *ĕfrĕng,* a rather frequent word in these languages.

[5] The Semitic languages of Ethiopia are: North Ethiopic: Geez, Tigré, and Tigrigna; South Ethiopic: Amharic, Harari, Gurage, Argobba, and Gafat.

as *š č* and others (not existing in Geez) are called *araběñña* or *arabi* "the Arabic."[6]

The part of Ethiopia which has a considerable population of Arabs is the province of Harar, and particularly the city of Harar. The language spoken in the city of Harar is called *adare*; it belongs to the group of the South Ethiopic languages. The language of *adare* contains several expressions in which the word *arab* serves to indicate a particular variety of an article, sometimes imported or of superior quality. Thus *arab muz* "papaya" (*muz* alone means "banana"); *arab bärbäri* "a special kind of pepper" (other kinds of pepper are called *bärbäri, qondo*); *arab ĕxi* "a special kind of maize"; *arab eläd* "name of a flower" (*eläd* means "flower" in general); *arab č'igär* "sleek hair" (the Harari do not have sleek hair); *arab ašin* "sandals of leather" (*ašin* alone seems to have the meaning of "wood sandals").

These are the expressions with *arab* I was able to find in Amharic and Harari. Further investigation would probably bring to light more of these expressions in the other Ethiopic languages.

Wolf Leslau

Asia Institute, New York

Palestine Refugees

The following paragraph is quoted from a circular letter dated July 12, 1949, received from the United Missionary Council of Syria and Palestine:

"Hundreds of thousands of Arabs, both Christian and Moslem, have been driven from their homes and are to be found in huge refugee camps or in smaller groups in Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Cyprus and Egypt, as well as Arab-occupied parts of Palestine. Very few have work; their educational, social and religious organization has in some districts broken down completely. Some have been able to bring part of their wealth with them; others barely escaped with their lives, but all have reached or are fast reaching the end of their material resources. Church organizations, missions and various secular organizations, such for instance as the International Red Cross, are all doing what they can to relieve the general distress; but the demand for such relief is far in excess of the present supply, and many are dying of starvation, exposure and sheer despair."

[6] Tigrigna *'arăbeyä* "cart", and Tigre *'arăbyät* id., do not belong here, since they are loan-words from the Arabic *'araba,* which has probably nothing to do with *'arab*.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster
Union Theological Seminary Library

I. GENERAL

The Arabic Readers of the Koran. Paul E. Kahle. (In the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* Chicago. April, 1949. pp. 65-71).

A discussion based on two Arabic manuscripts from the collection of Mr. A. Chester Beatty as to whether, at the time of the Prophet, a simpler language than classical Arabic was used.

L'Archéologie Musulmane en France de 1939 a 1945. Jean Sauvaget. (In *Ars Islamica,* Ann Arbor. Nos. 13-14, 1948. pp. 150-161).

A critical bibliography of the literature on Islamic art brought out by the French during the war.

Damascus. Ernst Herzfeld. (In *Ars Islamica,* Ann Arbor. Nos. 13-14, 1948. pp. 118-138).

Traces the influence of the Umayyad Mosque on the religious architecture of following periods. Well illustrated.

Developments of the Quarter: Comment and Chronology. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington. April, 1948. pp. 181-200).

Covers December, 1948-February, 1949.

Ibrāhīm Pasha. (In *Al-Kitāb,* Cairo. November, 1948. pp. 483-639).

Eighteen articles dealing with the life and times of this famous Egyptian who died a hundred years ago.

Material for a History of Islamic Textiles up to the Mongol Conquest, R. B. Serjeant. (In *Ars Islamica,* Ann Arbor. Nos. 13-14, 1948. pp. 75-117).

Deals with literary sources mentioning the textile production of the Yemen and Egypt.

Le Role de l'Iran dans les Textiles d'Antinoé. R. Pfister. (In *Ars Islamica,* Ann Arbor. Nos. 13-14, 1948. pp. 46-74).

Khuzistan is probably the source of third century textiles found in Antinoé, Egypt.

II. ARABIA

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

The Ancient Near East as History. Burr C. Brundage. (In *The American Historical Review,* New York. April, 1949. pp. 530-547).

Considers the development and influence of Sumero-Semitic, Egyptian, Minoan and Israelite civilizations and the lesser cultures near them from earliest times to the rise of Islam.

Arab Exploration during the Ninth and Tenth Centuries.

A. D. Ziauddin Alavi. (In *Islamic Culture,* Hyderabad. July, 1948. pp. 265-279).

Extracts from early geographers claiming the discovery of Japan and the Philippines as well as the circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope.

Azerbaijan Ancient and Modern. T. Burton-Brown. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. April, 1949. pp. 168-177).

An historical and archaeological article.

The Essence of Arab Civilization. Costi K. Zurayk. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. April, 1949. pp. 125-139).

An historical sketch.

La Guerra Algerino-Tunisina del 1807 nel Diario di un Diplomatico Olandese. Achille Riggio. (In *Oriente Moderno,* Roma. April-June, 1948. pp. 65-74).

Describes an important phase in the efforts of the Husaynite dynasty to free itself from Algeria.

IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

Études sur Qirqisāni. G. Vajda. (In *Revue des Études Juives,* Paris. Janvier-Juin, 1948. pp. 63-91).

Third installment of an extended study begun in 1946-47, pp. 52-98.

A New Arabic Geographical Manuscript. Richard N. Frye. (In the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* Chicago. April, 1949. pp. 90-97).

A description of Ākām al-Marjān, an eleventh century manuscript by Isḥāq ibn Ḥusain, which tells of the Khazars, the Turks, etc.

The Sovereignty of Allah. S. Sulaiman Nadvi. (In *Islamic Culture,* Hyderabad. July, 1948. pp. 237-249).

The author maintains that present-day Muslims must accept the Sharī'ah or be idolators.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

The Arab Refugee Problem. Archdeacon A. C. Macinnes. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. April, 1949. pp. 178-188).

The Israeli Government, by blocking the return of the Arabs to their own homes, is causing appalling conditions which will have to be remedied by U.N.O. relief plus aid from the International Red Cross, the American Friends' Relief Service and the League of Red Cross Societies.

Development in Turkey. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. April, 1949. pp. 617-626).

Surveys the progress made during the last twenty-five years, giving special praise to railroad development and improved water supply.

La Donna Irachena Moderna. Rufā'īl Buṭṭī (In *Oriente Moderno,* Roma. April-June, 1948. pp. 108-112).

Adequate education is the goal of forward-looking Iraqi

women. The article contains valuable bibliographic material on femal emancipation.

Living Standards in Rural Iran. Lyle J. Hayden. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. April, 1949. pp. 140-150).

A study of conditions in the village of Aliabad which has a population of 110 and is near Tehran.

A Refuge for Palestinian Refugees. (In *World Dominion and The World To-day,* London. May-June, 1949. pp. 161-163).

The author, a refugee himself, presents a strong indictment of the Christian world for its indifference to Arab suffering.

The Village in the National Life of Lebanon. Afif I. Tannous. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. April, 1949. pp. 151-163).

Part of the report of the U. S.-Lebanon Agricultural Mission of which the author was a member.

A Visit to Afghanistan. M. Philips Price. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. April, 1949. pp. 124-134).

The friendliness and hospitality of the natives and the constructive work being done by the Government make for a very interesting country to travel through.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

British Interests in the Middle East. H. V. Hodson. (In *The Listener,* London. January 20, 1949. pp. 85-86).

The author believes that Palestine must be allied to England to exclude other powers and to safeguard oil interests.

The Middle East—A Longer View. Owen Tweedy. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. April, 1949. pp. 610-616).

Deals with social evolutions developing through wireless and the democratic vote.

Modern Iran. Fareed S. Jafri. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. April, 1949. pp. 627-632).

Surveys the accomplishments of the 20th century.

Turkey Faces the Soviets. Necmeddin Sadak. (In *Foreign Affairs,* New York. April, 1949. pp. 449-461).

Russian policy toward Turkey has not changed since the days of the Tsars; the aim has always been the possession of the Dardanelles joined to the eastern Turkish territories.

The Turkish Republic To-day. Arnold Toynbee. (In *The Listener,* London. December, 1948. pp. 953-955).

The author was impressed by national unity in foreign affairs and by the progress of democratic thought.

VII. INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Frontier Changes of the Past Half Century. Sir Henry Holland. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. April, 1949. pp. 589-597).

A study of conditions by one who has served forty-eight years on the North West Frontier of India.

Impressions of Pakistan, Kashmir and the North West Frontier. M. Philips Price. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. April, 1949. pp. 566-577).

On the whole affairs are going well though lack of education

and the distressing refugee problem hamper real progress.

India and Pakistan—Progress Report. Phillips Talbot. (In *Foreign Policy Reports,* New York. June 15, 1949. pp. 78-87).

In less than two years of independence both countries have surmounted many internal crises and have demonstrated their ability to survive.

India and Pakistan: The Second Year. Sir Percival Griffiths. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. April, 1949. pp. 547-565).

The author finds that in the political field there has been marked accomplishment, but that economically India will have to formulate a strong policy.

The Kashmir Conflict. Alice Thorner. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. January, 1949. pp. 17-30; April, 1949. pp. 164-180).

A thoroughly documented study.

Pakistan. (In *The Round Table,* London. March, 1949. pp. 167-170; June, 1949. pp. 269-273).

The principal achievements of the past six months are a definite improvement in relations with India and the beginnings of constitution making.

Present Day Journalism in India and Pakistan. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. April, 1949. pp. 578-587).

Consists of comments by various experts on the subject.

Technical Services Association—Pakistan. Alice M. Macleod. (In *The East and West Review,* London. July, 1949. pp. 88-90).

Describes a new missionary project for working with the Government to improve the economic and technical resources of the country.

VIII. MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

Annual Report Number. (In *Egypt General Mission News,* London. March, 1949. Whole Issue).

The outlook on the whole is good though, of course, the Free School Law impedes the educational activities of the mission.

Arab and Jewish Christians. (In *The Church Times,* London. July 1, 1949. p. 417).

Tells of the plight of Palestine in partition and finds the Arabs far more tolerant to Christians than the Jews.

Churches of the Near East and the World Council of Churches. S. A. Morrison. (In *The Ecumenical Review,* Geneva. Spring, 1949. pp. 277-284).

The critical condition of the whole Christian Church demands unity of the churches for survival, for what they have in common should far outweigh the differences which separate them.

The Story of Iran. Hassan B. Dehqani-Tafti. (In *World Dominion and The World To-day,* London. May-June, 1949. pp. 147-150).

Iran with its ancient past and its background of many forms of religion offers a tremendous challenge to the Christian missionary.